

THE
MINORITY
O F
St. Lewis.



With the Politick Conduct
of Affairs by his Mother +
Queen *Blanch of Spain*, du-
ring her Regency.

LIB: T. ENGLY do-
BEING no authority.

A Relation of what happen'd most
Memorable under his Reign du-
ring the Year, 1226, 1227, 1228,
and 1229.

LONDON



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†

To the most Illustrious Prince,

H E N R Y

DUKE of NORFOLK, Earl

Marshal of England, Earl of Arundel,
Surrey, Norfolk, and Norwich, Baron
Mowbray, Howard, Seagrave, Bruse de
Gower, Fitz-Allan, Clun, Oswaldestrey,
Maltravers, Talbot, Verdon, Lovetot, Fur-
nival, Strange, of Blackmere, and Howard of
Castle Rysing, Constable and Governour
of His Majesties Royal Castle and Ho-
nour of Windsor, Lord Warden of Wind-
sor Forrest, Lord Lieutenant of the
Counties of Norfolk, Surrey and Berks,
and of the City of Norwich and Coun-
ty of the said City, and Knight of the
most noble Order of the Garter.

MY LORD,

I Should not have pre-
sum'd to approach with
an Address of so small

A 2 im-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

importance, a Personage
of your Dignity and Gran-
dure, in whose present sta-
tion all the Honours, and
in whose Person all the
Virtues of your Illustrious
Family so eminently shine,
but for this consideration,
that there is an obliging
condiscension which ever
attends upon true Nobility
and Native Greatness:
But, my Lord, I have this
moreover to plead, that in
this so small a Volume
there are such Arcana Hi-
storiæ,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

storizæ, and such well weigh'd Characters of persons, that those even of the highest Sphære and Imployment may, I judge, think a few hours not ill bestow'd in the perusal of them. The last pretension I lay to your Graces pardon, is, that I have taken care to give your Grace as little interruption as possible, to your more weighty affairs, in striving to express the ambition I have of paying my Mite of those ho-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*honours and respects which
you merit from all the
world, and thereby of aspi-
ring to the Title of*

MY L O R D,

Your GRACES most humble,
most obedient,
and most dutiful Servant.

Edw. Philips.

THE
MINORITY
O F
St. Lewis.

O R,

A Relation of what happen'd
of most Memorable, un-
der his Reign, during the
Years, 1226, 1227, 1228,
and 1229.

NEver any Christian Prince
merited of History more
solid, serious, and univer-
sal Praise than *Lewis the 9th*
A 2 of

of that Name, King of *France*, fir-named the Saint ; and consequently never any Christian Prince hath been so ill treated by the generality of Historians, both *French* and Foreigners, Ancient and Modern, Good and Bad, of all sorts of People, and of all Religions. The Hereticks of latter times haply offended at the Reason he gave for refusing to go to see the Body of Christ become visible in the hands of a Priest, namely, that he had no need of ocular Testimony to convince him of a Truth, whereof he was already so well satisfied, have with that prejudice represented even the most Heroick of his actions, that, were their Credit valuable, this Prince could certainly be allow'd no better a Character than any of the nine last Kings of the *Merovingian* Race ; They will needs have that haughtiness wherewith he treated his Brother *Charles of Anjou*, who after he was crown'd King of

of *Naples* and *Sicily* let loose the Reins to licence, pass for an Effect of secret Pride and Ambition; they brand with rashness and imprudence the two Expeditions he made against the Infidels, and will have the extraordinary Charge he was at in those Undertakings, no other than Profuseness and Prodigality. That Majestick Air which he exprest in all his Actions, and which descended to him from the Queen his Mother, they interpret to be only a natural Surlineness and Austerity of humour in him: and though more Covertly, they forbear not to censure his frequent Visitations, and regulations of Hospitals. The plainness of his habit they attribute to a poorness of Spirit in him, and from his aptness to conceal and pass over all private Injuries offer'd him, they are ready to accuse him of Pusillanimity and Cowardice. His Conversation though obliging enough, they account too Reserv'd

and Morose, considering the Familiarity and Freedom that had been allow'd to Courtiers in those times.

They cavil at the sincerity of his Answers both by word of mouth and in writing to foreign Ambassadors, in the Affairs he had to concert with the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*; they tax him of too much Severity in the Execution of his Laws, especially, against the Jews, and of too much adhering to particular Justice to the prejudice of the publick in the renuntiations he made to the Dutchy of *Guien* and Kingdom of *Castile*.

Nor is this noble Prince and Saint King *Lewis* better dealt with by the Catholick Historians, though perhaps not with such an apparent and design'd prejudice, and that by Reason (for a more probable cause cannot be guess'd at) of that pragmatick Sanction which came forth under the Name of this Prince, occasion'd by the quarrel he had with the Court of *Rome*.

Rome. They look'd upon as Criminal the zealous Concerns he had for the Rights of his Crown, and upon this pretence took upon them to bespatter all his actions without Limit or Distinction.

Of this last sort of Writers some there are, who not daring to launch out into those high Intemperancies, have yet fallen into another default equally disadvantageous to the glory of this Royal Saint. They have a conceit forsooth that there is no extraordinary Sanctity to be found but in Monasteries, or at least that it is not to be attain'd but by such Mortifications of the body as are there in use, and upon this presupposal they carry on the main part of their design throughout all their Writings, so that they make it not so much their business to represent this holy King *Lewis* such as really he was, but such as in their Opinion he ought to have been, that is to say, in stead of

making him a great King as he was they set him forth a very Monk of the most reformed Order. Inso-much that in a Manuscript Imbellisht with curious Figures in Miniature which came to light about 12 years after his death, he is pourtray'd in several Exercises of Penitence, the most severe and bloody that were than practic'd in Cloisters. Moreover, one *Richard* a Monk of the *Abby of Enove de Votsge*, describes him yielding to the Temptation of a certain *Jacobin* who urg'd him to take upon him the Order of St. *Dominick*, and from which nothing but the powerful and incessant Interposings of the Queen his Mother, *Philip* the *Hardy* his Son, and *Charles* of *Anjou* his Brother could have diverted him. *Mathew Paris* an English Benedictin, an Historian otherwise the most faithful and best informed of his Time, brings in our Princely St. *Lewis* at his restitution of

of *Guien* to the English, uttering himself in a Speech no less void of Sense than Regal Authority, and gives him a very lame at least imprudent Character, when he tells us that without fear or respect of the Barons of his Realm he had given up to the English, those other Provinces which *Philip the August* his Grandfather, had alienated from them in the Reign of King *John*, and reunited to the Crown of *France*.

But this is not all that hath been vented of unhandsome by these three above mentioned Authors, who all of them liv'd in the very Time of St. *Lewis*. 'Tis strange to consider how scant they are in recounting the Virtues of this Prince, as to his Quality and Estate, how they bury, if I may so say, in mysterious silence the great Care he took to acquit himself handsomly of all things that belong'd to his Kingly Office? how they smother the best part of all his most

glorious Actions, and speak openly of those only which were obscurely either begun or ended? never considering all this while that *David* in the midst of all his plenty, and keeping a Court not differing in outward Splendor from that of other Kings, was yet a man no less at least, if not more after Gods own heart than *Racab*, observing the utmost Severities of Life which the old Law requir'd. In fine, as if this Prince were destin'd to be the Mark of all Injustice, the Modern Historians have almost all of them in this point follow'd the Example of the Ancients, whether it were that they only contented themselves to copy them out as it were, for want of the Originals by which they were to have been supplyed, and mended, or, that they chose rather to take upon Trust what they found in Print, than to bestow the pains and time to search and consult Manuscripts.

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The design therefore of this work is to rectifie and turn to advantage the Mistakes of others, and to remove those Inconveniences that have ensued upon them, at least as far as can be done by touching upon them briefly, not having here time or place to represent all things in their full proportion; and I shall think my self very happy, if without being wounded I can handsomly make my way over so many Thorns, since doubtless there can be nothing more conducing to the Dolphins Instruction than to be presented with a true Character of that person among all his Ancestors, whose Life next to that of the Incomparable *Lewis*, the 14th. it most importethim to contemplate; and if I should be so unhappy as not to succeed, I shall at least gain this Advantage that the Correction of my Errors will instruct others more dextrous to arrive at a safe Haven.

St. *Lewis* came into the World
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the 25th. of April, in the Year, 1215: and those who relate him born of a barren Mother, and make his Birth a Miracle wrought by the Prayers of St. Dominick, are certainly ignorant that he had an Elder Brother call'd Philip, who dyed in his Minority. The Prince his Father liv'd till near 30 Years of Age a private Life, contenting himself with the Kings Grace and Favour, and the hopes of succeeding him one day, when the Course of Nature and the Fundamental Law of the Land should call him to the Crown. He was nam'd Lewis, and the astonishing fierceness of his Countenance in time of fight, which increas'd or diminish'd proportionably to the danger he was in procur'd him the Surname of Lyon, however, he never resembled this Animal but when he was engag'd in Military Affairs, being at other times the most obliging and complaisant of all men living; not to mention

mention those his other Excellencies which will afford a noble Character to him that shall undertake to write his Life : but in Relation to what hath been said of him, one Instance of his Moderation cannot be omitted, since thereby was divulg'd upon the noblest Stage of *Europe* his readiness to perform the Command of God, who promiseth a Reward both in this Life and that to come, to those who give due Honour and Obedience to their Parents.

King *Philip the August* after the death of Queen *Isabel of Hainault* his first Wife, by whom he had Prince *Lewis*, espoused *Angelberge of Denmark*, a Princess without Compare, the fairest and most virtuous *Europe* could boast of. But the Inconstancy of Man is never so deplorable as in such like Conjunctions, wherein he changes in a moment not only from excess of love to excess of hatred, but which is worse, from the excess of love

love to the utmost Indifference. *Philip*, the Morrow after his Nuptials with *Angelberge*, entertain'd a strange aversion for her. He first excluded her from his Bed, next from his House, He suēd out a Process for the dissolution of the Marriage and found the Bishops ready enough to comply with his Resolution upon pretext of an Imaginary kindred between the two Spouses: upon their Sentence immediately ensued another Marriage of the King with *Agnes of Tullet*, other wise called *Mary Princess of Bohemia* by whom he had several Children : *Angelberge* bore her Divorce with a Patience never enough to be applauded. She not only not oppos'd the Kings design, but forbore to return into her own Country, for fear her Presence should animate her Relations to Revenge the Affront she had receiv'd. All the favour she desired was that she might be permitted to reside in *France*, where she led so ho-
ly

ly and retir'd a Life that all her Enemies, her Rival her self not excepted, could not but admire her, and pity her Condition.

However, Canute King of Denmark thought himself oblig'd in honour, though she oftentimes conjur'd him to the contrary, to appear for his Sister Angelberge, and thereupon demanded justice in her behalf of Pope Celestin the 3d. insomuch that his Holiness remonstrated the whole Affair to the King by Cardinal Mesilleur, who not being admitted to a favourable hearing, address'd himself to the Prelates that attended the Court, to little purpose God knows, for all the benefit he reapt of this Negotiation was a few insignificant Expressions of their Compassion for the Queens Misfortune ; and all his Eloquence, though he was accounted the best Oratour of his time, could not obtain one step of advancement toward the reestablishment of this Princess.

Princess. The Cardinal upon this finding none to second him, return'd to *Rome*, from whence the Pope, press'd by the continual Importunities of the *Danes*, sent soon after into *France* as his Legate, Peter Cardinal of St. *Mary* with order to assemble the Prelates of *France*, and to put the Realm under an Interdict, in case the King did not within a time prefixt receive *Angelberge* again. The Cardinal executed this dangerous Commission with as much vigour as addres; and the King not doubting to come off by those subterfuges that occur in formal Tryals consented to the calling of a Councel at *Dijon*, the Capital Town of *Burgundie*: the matter was examined to the bottom, and the justest cause became the strongest. Those Prelates of the Court Party who had pronounc'd the Marriage of *Angelberge Null*, either touch'd with remorse of Conscience, or finding their Number

Number not strong enough to maintain it, revok'd their Sentence, and the Council actuated by the Cardinal, thundred out an Interdiction, only with this Reserve that twenty dayes respite should be allow'd to the publication of their Decree,

The King in stead of taking this limited Time to consider of a Concession, rather laid hold of an advantage, thereby to make his Appeal from the Determination of the Council, and to revenge himself of the Bishops who acted thus, as he pretended, with a malicious design of opposing his proceedings; he feis'd upon their Temporals, and to prevent the Assistance they might receive from their Relations, for at that time the richest Benefices in *France* were in the hands of persons of highest quality, he possest's himself of the third part of Gentlemens Estates. In the next place, *Angelberge* was remov'd from her present place of Solitude

litude, and confin'd to the Castle of *Estampes*, where she was sequestred from all Society, but only of such as were the Creatures of her Rival.

There were at that time in *France* scarce fewer Malecontents than Natives, and though Prince *Lewis* could have no lawful cause for putting himself at the Head of them, yet never could he have had a fairer and more plausible pretext: He had yet neither Place of Trust nor Profit, neither Government of Town nor Province; all he had to subsist upon was an indifferent summe of Money which he receiv'd yearly out of *Spain*. He could not hope to make his Condition better while he kept himself in the Limits of due Obedience, whereas had he Headed the Malecontents, he might have assur'd himself of obtaining by Articles of Accommodation whatsoever he could have desir'd, for since those People would never have been reduc'd without him,

him, the King must have been forc'd to have given them an entire Satisfaction, nor could he have avoided above all things the taking back of *Angelberge*.

But all this while Prince *Lewis* remain'd firm and unshaken in that Faith and Duty which he knew to be owing to his Father, and his King, and own'd himself bound in Honour and Conscience to adopt upon all accounts his Majesties Interests as his own, and shewed a more than ordinary Submission at a time when all the rest of his Subjects meditated a general Revolt ; in short, he gave an Example of Fidelity not to be parallel'd in the History of any Nation : Nor was this unexampled Loyalty of his long without a Recompence ; for having so generously and virtuously refus'd an Illegal Power he was call'd to the Crown of *England* by the universal consent of the Estates of the Realm. Three Years he there peaceably

ably reign'd, and when at the end thereof, the Inconstancy of those that had call'd him in unworthily retract-ed that Allegiance which both their duty oblig'd them to, and his Virtue; Almighty God abundantly repair'd that detriment to him two several wayes, the one was a perpetual Esta-blishment of the Crown of *France* upon his Posterity from his Eldest Son, the other an Accession of the Crowns of *Naples* and *Sicily* with the Earldom of Provence which fell contrary to all Expectation to the youngest of his Sons. But of the worldly Blessings that attended Prince *Lewis* there was none he made greater account of, or took higher Satisfaction in, than the Wife which God in his most especial Providence bestow'd upon him, viz. *Blanch of Spain*, the Daughter of *Alphonso King of Castile*, Surnamed the Noble, a Princess who in that rude, heavy Age wherein she had the Misfortune

to

to be born, possess'd all those graces which were capable to draw admiration from the most accomplish'd Ladies of her time. And as none durst dispute the Prerogative of beauty with her, so it was absolutely taken for confess'd on all hands that she infinitely surpass'd them in a Noble and Gallant Meen. The young Age wherein she was Espous'd to *Lewis*, for she was then scarce ripe for Marriage, render'd her so much the more pliant and flexible in conforming to the humours and manners of the French Nation; wherein she made so perfect an Improvement that she could not possibly have been distinguish'd from a French Woman, but for that grave Severity which was too Natural to be easily quitted by her, though at a time when she most resign'd her self up to Complaisance and Familiarity, Her Air as Majestick as it was, had yet never any thing in it of disobliging, being ever attended with

with words and actions full of Spirit and Vivacity, and a Gaiety of humour that infinitely became her : She enjoy'd so vigorous a health of body that till that sickness took her which ended her dayes, she never was troubled with any other distemper than a short quotidian Ague, which argued rather a strong Constitution then any Intemperature of humours. Her beauty was not impair'd by Age, nor did the bringing of ten Children into the World any thing diminish the freshness or delicacy of her Complexion. But that which singularly recommends her above all that hath been said is the clear judgment and exalted wit which so qualified her for business, that she came not short of the most eminent Ministers of *Spain*, either for quick insight, or prudent forecast in the weightiest Affairs without the least of that heavy slowness and irresolution which hath been the fault of many

ny, as she made appear by her ma-
nagement of those no less difficult
Transactions that hapned during her
Regency, then have been known at
any time ; and with that Ease and
dispatch that she was not observ'd to
have the least trouble or perplexity
of Spirit. Her Piety was neither su-
perstitious, nor a Cloak for the car-
rying on of any Interest, and it was
an excellent saying of hers to her
Children when she had their Educa-
tion under her Care ; That she had
rather see them buried than to aban-
don that purity of Life to which
their Baptism had call'd them. Her
Chastity was inviolable, however,
that of all the rest of her Virtues was
most disputed, both during her Life
and after her death. The worst
that hath been said of her in any of
the most Satirical Pieces that have
toucht her in this tender point is,
that she gave too much pretence to
Calumny. She entertain'd indeed a
Principle

Principle more dangerous than could well consist with a Ladies Honour, that is to say, that there are certain junctures which though rarely, might at some time or other happen, in which Ladies might lay aside the outward Formalities of Honour, provided they took care to preserve it inviolable in the Main. This I say, Queen *Blanch* held for a Fundamental Maxim of her Politicks, for Example, that she might without scruple of Conscience endeavour to give Love to any Prince or Potentate that could not by any other means be gain'd to her Interest; especially, when it might prove a means to prevent or put an end to a War or any intestine broil, to make an Experiment whereof too many occasions will offer themselves in the Sequel of this History; But in the first place, Forasmuch as the Sentiments of the Queen in this matter were no way prejudicial to the Education of St.

Lewis

Lewis, it will be necessary before hand to shew how singular and scrupulously exact she was in this matter.

She undertook her self the Office of Nurse to this dear Son of hers, not thinking it safe, (for where most Love is, there is most jealousie and suspicion) he should suck of any other Milk than her own, upon this there hapned a *Rencountre*, which being not elsewhere to be found, though perhaps purposely omitted as beneath the Gravity of History, cannot handsomly be here pass'd by. One day when she had a violent hot fit of an Ague upon her, which also lasted longer than Ordinary, a Lady of Quality who either to please her Majesty, or in imitation of her, had taken upon her to nurse her own Son, being then present, and seeing the little Infant cry for the Teat, took upon her the boldness to give him the Breast, the Queen when the fit was over, call'd for her Child, and of-

fer'd him her own Breast, but the Infant put it by, either, because having suckt so lately he was fully satisfied, or, because the fresh Milk he had lately tasted, made him the more sensible of the burning heat of that which his Mother now offer'd him. The Reason was easie to be guess'd, and the Queen her self suspected what had hapned ; She pretended an impatient desire of returning her thanks to the person who had oblig'd her by being so kind to her Child, during her Indisposition ; The Lady here-upon expecting no doubt to be a Favourite, own'd what she had done, and told the Queen that the crying of the Infant so sensibly touch'd her, that she could not forbear to give it what Relief was in her power. But the Queen, instead of returning her the thanks she expected, cast a most disdainful look upon her, and thrusting her finger into his mouth, forc'd him to give up all he had receiv'd form

from her Breast. This violent Carriage of the Queen gave surprise to all that beheld it, whereupon, not to hold them long in suspence, the Queen told them they ought not to think strange of what they had seen, for that she could not possibly endure that any Woman alive should have a Right to dispute with her the Quality of a Mother ; so stedfast her perswasion was that the nursing of Children is a great part of their Education.

Other Particularities of the Education of St. *Lewis* are not known, only in general it is not unknown, how great Care was taken to place such persons about him as were most capable to instruct him ; but however these persons were, it may without any injustice to them, be strongly presum'd their Abilities were not sufficient for the high Province they were set in, it being in an Age when men of greatest Fame for Literature were but very indifferently learned,

and in a Kingdom whose Nobility at time lay under the scandal of that gross Ignorance; besides, that St. *Lewis* came too soon to the Crown to have that leisure and opportunity which were necessary for a serious Application to study. He was not above twelve years, and about ten dayes over, of Age, when his Father King *Lewis* the 8th. who had not reign'd in *France* above three years, resign'd him his place by an accident, whose Circumstances have not been to this day sufficiently made known.

The most potent Feudatory of the French Monarchy, next to the King of *England*, was at that time *Tibault* the third, who *Matthew Paris* calls *Henry Earl of Champaign Brie, Chartres and Blois*; the Sovereignty of which Estates had been in his Family above 400 Years, and it was no less then 300 Years since one of his Ancestors got himself immortal Fame by compelling the last King of *Burgundy*

dy (for the putting a stop to the per-
secution then on foot) to resign his
Crown to the Emperor *Conrade*.
This Prince of all the Princes of Chri-
stendom of that time, had the grea-
test Alliances ; his Mother being the
Daughter and Heiress of the King of
Navarre, his Grandmother Sister of
Philip, the *August King of France*; his
great Grandmother, Princess of *Eng-*
land ; and her Mother of the Impe-
rial House of *Suevia*. He was of a
large Stature, handsome, well made,
valiant and active, Especially, at the
Exercise of the *Lance*, which was then
an Exercise and Divertisement much
in use and Esteem; but withal, he was
extreamly subject to passions, which
of all others are most incident to per-
sons of his Quality and Grandure, and
that in so high a degree, that it was
hard to distinguish which was most
predominant. He was born a young-
er Brother, but waited not long be-
fore he became the Eldest, his Bro-

ther dying without Male Issue, the Orphan Princesses he left behind found their Uncle instead of a Protector the greatest Enemy and Persecutor they had ; Nor had he accepted of the Tuition of them, but only to gain an opportunity thereby of invading their Estates, which he delay'd no longer to do, then till he had made himself Master of all their strong holds. The pretence he made use of to palliate his Injustice, was too weak to have ever been made use of before in the like Case ; Namely, that the Earldoms of *Champaign*, *Brie*, *Chartres* and *Blois* were Fiefs purely Masculine, that is to say, so firmly entail'd upon the Martial, or Arm-bearing Sex, as not to admit of any Woman whatsoever, though Married to the General of an Army.

No less Criminal was this Earl in his amorous Inclination, nor did this passion of his tend less to evil Consequences, the respect he ow'd to Lew-

is the 8th. his Sovereign, and the honour he had of being so nearly related to him, not restraining him from loving Queen *Blanch* beyond the Limits of honour and decency; and whether it were that he gave way to Presumption equally with Love, or, that his Passion was moreover degenerated into folly ; or, that he had entertain'd an Opinion that Secrecy would more avail to the heightning than suppressing of his Malady ; or lastly, that the Queens Virtue had driven him to despair ; he not only took no care to hide the fury of his amorous Flame, but on the contrary sought all extravagant ways imaginable to proclaim it to the World ; he spent a great part of his time in making Love-songs,avouring more of a flashy wit than of a true Elegance, or Spirit of Poetry : these he made it his business to get presented to the Queen, he caus'd them to be compos'd to Musick, and sung to all sorts of Instruments,

ments, and either to keep them from growing out of date, as it generally happens when the Novelty of a thing is over, or, that their Memory of them might survive both the Author and the Princess for whom they were made, he had them grav'd in Copper, and expos'd to the sight of the whole world in the Galleries of his Palaces at *Troye* and *Provence*, as if he were afraid least future Ages should be unacquainted with his folly, or the time he liv'd in should want a fit Subject for *Satyre*. Such was the excessive heighth of his Imprudence, which the King was not then in a Condition to chastise, he thought it better to pretend Ignorance, than to manifest his weakness by unprofitable marks of Anger. The English were then in Arms for the recovery of those French Provinces which *Philip the August* had taken from them, and *France* could not have hindred, had the Forces which were rais'd to oppose

oppose them been disunited: He stood in need of the Aid of all his Feudatories ; and the revolt of this Count alone had been enough to ruin the whole design. Thus was the King constrain'd to carry himself toward his Rival, as Criminal as he was, and the Event prov'd that his Majesty had taken, if not the most honourable, yet at least the most profitable Expedient. The Earl, who was a person sufficiently Valiant, had brought a considerable Addition to the French Army, of choice Troops, all consisting of his own Vassals, and fought like a true Lover of that Age, that is to say, he had the Vanity to expose himself to the greatest of dangers for the Love of his Lady ; The English whom he was the forwardest to attaque, were driven to stand upon their defence ; and the Towns of *Nierot*, and *St. John d'Angeli*, which they had lately recover'd, were again taken from them by force ; the Town

of Rochel, to avoid plundering, submitted to the French ; so that at last the English, disheartned by so many misfortunes, were glad of a Truce. The King was the more willing to agree to it, as desirous to lose no occasion for the reuniting to his Realm the largest of those Provinces which had been dissever'd from it ever since the declining of the second Race.

Simon Earl of Monfort the greatest and most fortunate Captain of his Age, had gain'd *Languedoc* from several petty *Albigensian* Princes, who at that time had possess'd it ; but *Amaurus* his Son could not keep it, the *Albigenses* recover'd again the best part of it, and *Amaurus* chose rather to give up the rest for the Constable's Staff of *France*, than to stand out till he was depriv'd of all without any Recompence. He had yielded up his Right to the most Christian King, and his Majesty being engag'd in this War, as well for his own proper Interests,

terests, as those of Religion, had a Rendezvous in *Berry* of all the Forces he could bring together, as well his own as those of his Feudataries, with which he sate down before the Town of *Avignon*, where the *Albigenses* after they were forc'd to quit the Field, had brought the choice of all their Troops.

There was no want in the Town either of Provision, or any warlike Accomodations which were then in use, nor were the French without Intelligence thereof, yet they desisted not from attacquing the place, but by Reason of the death of the famous *Guy Earl of St. Paul*, to whom they had been oblig'd for the victory of *Bovines*, and of the wounding of 4000 of their men, besides, 2000 more slain in the ditches, they were forc'd to change the Siege into a *Blockade*.

The Besieged for all this were soon brought to a Capitulation, and the King found therein the Keys of all
the

the *Albigensian* Towns, except those of *Tholouse*; the Year was too far advanc'd, and the Souldiers too much tir'd to begin a new Siege: Besides, it was impossible the French Cavalry could subsist about *Tholouse* in regard the *Albigenses* had plough'd all the Meadows thereabout. However, it was thought expedient not to lye at too great a distance from the place, for two several Reasons, the one, to hinder the Spaniards from drawing together those succours which they had promis'd to the *Albigenses*, the other, because the French Army consisting chiefly of those Troops which the Feudataries of the Crown had levied, had they been suffer'd to march home; the Spring and the best part of Summer (so tardy must their return have been by reason of the length of the way) would have been gone before they cou'd have turn'd to the Siege of *Tholouse*. Upon this account it was that the

King

King resolv'd to take up his Winter Quarters in the Neighbouring Provinces to *Languedoc*, and had his Head-quarters at *Mont-----* a Castle situate upon the Frontiers of *Auvergne*. The design was new, there had scarce been any Example thereof, since the Reign of the third Race in *France*, however, it might have been the occasion of shrew'd Inconveniences, and the Feudataries had infallibly oppos'd it, should the King have gone about to put it in execution, without having first obtain'd their consent in a Council of War.

It was in a full Council that the King discours'd them concerning this Affair, but in such Terms as on the one side represent'd how absolutely necessary it was for the whole Army to quarter in those places, on the other side, testified the high Satisfaction he should take in gaining their Consents, he wanted but little of his desire, all the Feudataries gave their hand.

hands except the Earl of *Champaign*: the Queen then resided at *Paris*, and the Court was no longer able to endure her absence. He thought himself sure of seeing her within a very short time. And you may well imagine how it would relish with the most impatient of all men living, to meet with a fresh *Rencontre*, that should debar him the sight of his Mistress a whole Year longer. Thus netled therefore as he was, I am not said he, in a full Council, against the Complaisance of the rest of the *Féudataries*, but for my own part, I think it just, to stand so far upon my Rights and Priviledges, as to draw off my Troops into *Brie*.

This Answer seem'd to proceed from nothing but a haughty, proud Resolution, but the King was not so slow of apprehension as not to pierce into the true Reason. His Majesty had just cause enough of anger against him upon such an occasion, as had the rest

rest follow'd his Example, might have prov'd of fatal Consequence, and left him abandon'd of all ; nor could he refrain from reproaching the Earl for this Affront, and threatening him, if he persisted longer in these Expressions, to fall into his Territories with Fire and Sword. The Earl who hated the King no less than he lov'd the Queen, pretended that his Majesty ought to have shew'd some kind of respect toward him, and have treated him rather as an Equal, than as a Vassal, since he was Heir to a Crown ; that he ought to take notice of those Menaces as serious, and not words of Course, considering what extremity the Kings obstinate humour had transported him to, he being too exact an observer of his word in such Cases. It was indeed above an Age since *Brie* and *Champaigne* had been absolutely free from all the Calamities of War, and such was the plenty in general of the whole Country, that the French

Army.

Army might have found very good Quarters there, had it stood with the Interest of the Kings Affairs. This Crime was the most hainous of any the Earl had been yet tax'd with, but it will appear by what hath been already said, that he was no Novice in committing the blackest of Enormities. Moreover, his imagination agitated by the different passions which had got the Mastery of him, began to entertain an Idea of Paricide as of absolute necessity at this time.

He could not resolve upon attempting the Kings Life by open force, at a time when he had all his Troops about him, nor was the way of Assassination much more safe; It was now many Ages since any of the French Monarchs had been taken off by this way, so ready the Nobility had been to take part with them, and to revenge all designs whatsoever put in practice against them.

No way was left but poison, and the French, who from the very first beginning of the Monarchy, had had this practice in the greatest detestation, began insensibly to have an inclination to it, whether it were that they were of late grown more Ingenious in Malice, or that they had learn'd this way of giving their Enemies a dispatch, either from the Infidels against whom they had born Arms, or from the Greeks with whom they had of late been more than formerly converfant. What kind of poison it was that the Earl gave the King was never absolutely discovered, but sure enough, for the greater Secrecy of the matter, such a Dose was given him as caus'd a lingring distemper. The King dissembled for many dayes the violence of the Feavour which inwardly consum'd him, nor did he to the very last so much resent the pain he endur'd, as the disturbances likely to ensue as to publick Affairs ; Jealousy for

for its greater Satisfaction finds out
peculiar wayes of taking Vengeance.
The Earl had the pleasure before he
parted to see the King languishing
on his death bed, and to foresee that
his leaving him in that Condition
would augment his grief and vexati-
on of Spirit. However, he had the
confidence for all this to go and wait
upon the Queen, as presupposing that
she could hardly suspect the true
cause of her Husbands Malady ; or
at least, if she should come to under-
it, she would be oblig'd to conceal
her knowledge, because of the need
she would have of his assistance in
obtaining the Regency ; Nor was it
long e're the King finding his end to
draw near, made his Will, in which
he appointed the Queen to be Go-
vernress of her Eldest Son, and Regent
of the Kingdom. He dyed the s-
venth of November, 1226, in the
39th. Year of his Age, This last Will
and Testament met with no oppositi-
on

on ; whether it were that the Princes of the Blood and Nobility of the Realm were wrought upon by those pathetical discourses which he made to them upon his death bed, to oblige them to pursue his Interests ; or, that their wavering minds had not yet fix'd upon those measures which were to be taken for a Revolt intended ; or, had they indeed been ready for any such design, they were watch'd too narrowly by the Queen to bring it to Effect ; For, notwithstanding she was left a Widow at a Conjunction capable of disheartning a Princess, who, though of wit and spirit enough, yet wanted two qualifications which might render a womans Government supportable to the French Nation, that is to say, Credit and Experience ; however, she endeavour'd by all means possible to inform her self of the Genius of a People she was to govern, and easily apprehended that the best way to re-

prevent what ever designs might happen to be broach'd in *France*, was to carry with all speed her Eldest Son St. *Lewis* to *Reims*, to be there anoint-ed King; and that nothing would so much conduce as this Ceremony to keep within the bounds of their Allegiance a People, prepossess'd with an opinion of his being hereby made a partaker in the Sovereign Power. The extraordinary haste that was made for the King's Journey into *Cham-paign*, hinder'd the Grandees and Nobles from accompanying the King with the Splendor and Magnificence usual upon such occasions, notice only was given, that the King was willing to dispence with the trouble and charge of those great preparations; expecting their Attendance in person only without any pompous Train, or numerous Retinue, which in such an Affair as this would be but trouble-some and apt to breed disturbance. This Ceremony was perform'd in the beginning

beginning of December 1226, by the Ministry of the Bishop of *Soissons*, Premier Suffragan of the Archbishopsrick of *Reims*, whose seat was then vacant. But *Philip of France*, the Kings Paternal Uncle, first Prince of the Blood, Earl of *Boulogne* and *Clermont*, whether it were that he took Exception to see himself preceeded by the Peers of *France*, at the Kings Inauguration, or, because the Regent had not confirm'd the Augmentation of his *Appenage*, which was promis'd him when he gave his consent to her being made Regent, what ever it were he repented him of what he had done when it was but just too late to revoke it; He was the first man that labour'd to destroy his own work though no man was more concern'd than himself to preserve it entire. He came short in deeds of Arms both of his Father and his Brother, but equall'd them both in wit, and surpass'd them in Vigour and Address: and

and though there were no other proofs then the Intreagues hereafter mention'd, they are sufficient to discover him the most subtle, and dextrous Prince of his Age. He represented, both by word of mouth and by writing, to all the Nobles of the Realm, how they had been circumvented, how that a Spanish Woman had found a way how to deprive them of the fruit of all their labours, and that notwithstanding those Conquests which had been gain'd by *Philip the August* in a War of 50 Years, to avoid falling under the English Power, and the coming off with so much glory in so difficult an Enterprise, they were now in danger of falling under that Yoke whereof in former times they had so universal a dread ; That the Queen whom they had declar'd Regent, was indeed born in a Country which hitherto had neither any Antipathy nor Interest with *France*, but that she was in Effect English,

English, and neither could, nor ought to be consider'd as otherwise, though at a time when she took up-on her the Government of the French. That she was the daughter of *Eleanor*, Princess of *England*, and Grandchild of a Queen of the same Name, who had detach'd *Guien* from the Crown of *France* to unite it to *England*. That though she was the daughter of *Alphonso* (surnamed the Noble) King of *Castile*, yet she was not married to the late King *Lewis* as *Infanta* of *Spain*, but as Princess of the Royal House of *England*, where the Daughters are call'd to the Suc-cession of the Crown for want of If-sue Male. That this Marriage had been resolv'd on in a solemn Treaty with the English. That the King of *England* had endow'd her with the Earldom of *Eureux*, and 30000 Marks of Silver, and therefore had reason to expect from her a Recompence proportionable to the establishment
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he had settled upon her. That nothing less could be expected but giving back the Provinces conquer'd from King *John Lackland*, which would be to the prejudice even of those Children which she had brought into the World.

That it was the Regent's humour to desire rather to be accounted an ill natur'd than an ungrateful Person, that this only consideration was sufficient to render her unworthy of the administration of the French Monarchy ; but that there was another also no less apparent, nor no less considerable which was this : The late King had form'd a design, and put a good beginning to it of uniting *Languedock* to the Crown, the chief obstruction to which by reason of his Majesties untimely death, would be the not taking of *Tholouse* ; the Regent, besides, that she was incapable of such an Enterprise, being too much concern'd as a Native of *Spain*, in opposing

posing by all means possible the growth of the French Monarchy on the *Pirenean* side, not to put off the Siege to another time, under pretence of the Minority of the King her Son, when ever she should be constrain'd to undergo the Importunities that must needs be made to her upon this account, that the only Remedy to prevent these two Inconveniences would be to depose the Queen from her Regency, and to put in her stead a Prince who on the one side should have no obligation to the English, and on the other side would be capable of commanding the Army design'd for the taking of *Tholouse*.

This *Harangue* which the Earl made use of in the Nature of a *Manifesto*, laid down nothing which in the main was not exactly true, but withal it was enfeebled by a contradiction too plain to be unperceiv'd. In the beginning of his discourse, he presupposes her English, designing

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thereby to raise an Odium against her upon the account of the Aversi-
on she must needs have for *France*, on the contrary, at the latter end, he will have her a Native of *Spain* on purpose to render her suspected, and uncapable of pursuing the Conquest of *Languedock*. However, this Ora-
tion had almost all the success the Earl could promise himself from it, since thereby he engag'd to his Par-
ty the two sorts of People which were then of most Credit in *France*, that is to say, those who had a more than or-
dinary passion for the Grandure of that Monarchy, and those who less soaring in Ambition, pleas'd them-
selves with the thought that this would be a great means of rooting out the Hereticks, and were carried on with wonderful Application to-
ward the Conquest of *Languedock*, as imagining it another holy War; Of this number were the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Earls of *March*, *St.*

Pau

Paul and Bar; whose Association was of great importance to the Earl of *Boulogne*, and so much the more for that they thought themselves tied to his Interests by the strongest of humane Bonds to wit, Zeal, no matter whether true or false.

Having thus secur'd those who pretended to serve him out of pure inclination, he made it his next business to gain those who act in all things as humour or interest leads them : of this sort of persons the Earl of *Champagne* was the first he address'd himself to. This Prince found not that return of Love from the Queen which he thought his Services merited, nor was he very much surpris'd thereat, whether it were that he imputed the Queens Insensibility to those impressions which the surviving Love of her deceas'd Husband had left in her heart, or that he believ'd the care of her Honour oblig'd her to keep within the bounds of exact

decorum, at a time when she knew the Eyes of the whole world would be upon her : but he was more thoroughly convinc'd of the vanity of persisting in his Love, when he saw that the Queen, after she had taken upon her the Regency, treated him no otherwise than common Civility oblig'd her to, and that she neglect-him so far as not to make him a sharer in the Government by giving him a place in the Council of State: his impatient humour stirr'd him up to high complaints of her slighting Usage. Whereupon the Earl of *Bologne* who was neither ignorant of his Amours, nor his ill success therein, concluded the best way to draw him to a Revolt, would be to heighten his jealousie.

The Pope had sent *Lega*te into *France*, a Prelate altogether agreeable to that Court : he was call'd *Roman*o, as being a Native of *Rome* of the lowest rank of the Populacy ; nevertheless, he was endu'd with such qualities

qualities as made him appear a person of real Grandure in all places wherever he came : he had an excellent shape of body, and for a gallant Meen was not equall'd by any; his delicate and quick parts made him pass for a Miracle of wit, and the rather for that it was very rare in that Age. In fine, all *Europe* could not boast so compleat a Courtier : to him *France* ow'd the Conquests that had been made in *Languedock*; for it was he that call'd the Council at *Bourges*, wherein the continuation of the war against the *Albigenses* was decreed ; he that had dispos'd all the Nobility of the Realm to serve in this Expedition at their own Charge ; he that had excommunicated anew the Earl of *Tholouse* ; he that took off the Fathers of the Council from shewing him any favour, when he came in as a penitent at a time when they least expected it. This induc'd the Queen to have a particular respect

for the Legate, whether mov'd by the meer consideration of his Merits, or thinking her self oblig'd to treat with more than ordinary Civilities a Minister of the Court of *Rome*, and one whose assistance she mainly stood in need of to compleat the Conquest of *Languedock*, and to keep the *French* in subjection and obedience during so long a Minority ; She consulted him in all important affairs, follow'd his advice above all others, and of those passing Civilities he desir'd for any of his friends she deny'd him none ; these things added so much to the count of *Champaigne's* jealousie, that the Malecontents could have wisht for no better opportunity to bring him over to their Party.

The Earl of *Boulogne* represented to him that he ought in reason to disengage his heart from a Spanish woman, who had been so lavish of hers as to part with it to a Priest, and

and that he could not in honour have any other Sentiments for her, than those of abhorrence and revenge, for the injury she did to the Memory of her deceas'd Husband. There is nothing a man inclines to. more than to believe things are as he would have them.

The Earl how ever was at a loss, and knew not what to think of her manner of treating him ; he could not imagine that so young and fair as she was, she could confine her self all her life long to a languishing and disconsolate Widow-hood, having an overture, which she might be glad to embrace, of enjoying in second Nuptials the Heir presumptive of the Crown of *Navarre* ; all this while he saw plainly that this Princess had no disposition to make him happy, though to her own advantage ; and since he could not dive into the true cause, and was not satisfied with any of those he revolved in his mind ; he

fix'd upon that which had been suggested to him, never examining the probability of it, or considering that it was infinitely more ridiculous than any thing he could imagine beside.

Thus imputing the Queens indifference for him, to the love which it was surmised she had for the Legate; upon this sullen supposition he resolv'd upon the suppressing of a passion, with which he was even ready to burst. Upon this he entred into the Earl of *Boulogne's* Party, and drew along with him his Brother of Arms, *Hugo de Dampmartin*, Count of *Ponthieu*, whose Eldest Brother was *Renald*, Count of *Dampmartin*, *Auscon*, *Islebon*, and *Domfront*. He having married the Niece of King *Philip the August*, took the boldness and Authority upon him, under pretext of this Alliance to besiege, and having taken it, to rase down to the ground a Castle belonging to the Bishop of *Beauvais*, a Prince of the blood,

blood, and Cousin German to the said *Philip the August*, who, glad of an occasion to bring down this Count of *Dampmartin*, whom he knew to be the most turbulent and dangerous person of his whole Realm, took speedy course with him, and confiscated all his Estate. The Earl thus reduc'd from his former height to a dependance upon others for maintenance, was forc'd at last to beg the Kings pardon, but in vain ; for all the Answer he could obtain of the King was, that though he had no obligation to give an account of his actions to any one whatsoever, yet nevertheless, he was content to remit the hearing of all matters in Controversie to the Chamber Royal, and the Barons of the Realm.

But this proposal relish'd not at all with the Earl, for besides that he expected no other than to be condemned, if they should proceed to the utmost rigour against him ; he knew

well enough the power and credit his Majesty had in that Court where he was to plead. So that seeing no other remedy, he took part with the English, and had the misfortune to be taken with other Prisoners at the Battel of *Bovines*, where he had languish'd out a long Confinement, though in a spacious Prison, of about 22 Years, his Brother the Earl of *Ponthieu* not being able to procure his Release. And indeed the two last Kings, *Philip the August*, and *Lewis the 8th.* and after them the Regent, had ever held it as a sure Political Maxim, that it very much import'd to keep in durance all his life time, that Vassal of theirs who was most potent and formidable, so long as there was any advantage to be taken without any absolute violation of Justice; so that there was no probability of this Earls deliverance but by force of Arms. The Earl of *Boulogne* promis'd *Ponthieu* to act with

with all the vigour requisite upon such an occasion for the setting his Brother free ; and that if it were not done before the Overtures of a Treaty of peace, the said Treaty should never be concluded but upon Condition he were first releas'd

The Earl of *Boulogne* being thus assur'd of those Feudataries who were nearest about the heart of the French Monarchy, made it his next design to gain those who were more remote, and more especially address'd himself to *Jane Countess of Flanders*, and *Hainault*. This Princess was married to *Ferdinand Infant of Portugal*, and Eldest Son of King *Sanchius*, who according to the Custome of the *Cadets* of noble Families, had sought his Fortune in *France*, and behav'd himself like one of those old Knights errant so renown'd in Story; and in truth he lighted upon better fortune than ever he could have hop'd for. *Baldwin Emperor of Constantinople*

Constantinople dying without Issue Male, had left King Philip the *August* Tutor to his daughter Princess *Jane*, with power to marry her to whom he thought fit. The King having a good opinion of *Ferdinand's* Merit ; or, else not willing to bestow her upon a French man, for fear of making him too potent, match'd her to this Portugues, who had not made his pretension to her, but as resolving to stand in Competition with any pretenders whatsoever, though their hopes were built upon never so much better a Foundation. But no sooner was *Ferdinand* by this Match become Master of two Estates, more considerable at that time than the Crown of *Portugal* it self, but he stain'd his Reputation by a most horrible Ingratitude. He suffer'd himself to be deluded by the same *Renald de Dampmartin*, whom we have already mention'd, so far as to bear Arms for the English against

against his Benefactor ; for which deservedly he had the same fate, being likewise taken Prisoner at *Bovines*, after he had receiv'd six wounds in the body by the valiant *Hugode Marevil*, a Gentleman of *Xaintogne*. However, his being taken Prisoner, troubled him nothing near so much as the course they took with him afterwards ; for the King, who knew him to be the proudest Prince of that Age, knew also what would most touch him to the quick, and bring down the pride of his haughty heart ; he caus'd him to be led in Triumph through the Streets of *Paris*, in which disgraceful march he was saluted with such kind of Language as the Mobile commonly bestow upon persons of his Circumstance. After he had been kept for some time without any other hopes than of perpetual Imprisonment, it was thought fit to give him up a Freeman to the tears and submissions of his Wife,

who

who was come to cast her self at the
 Kings feet, and to let him live in
 peace, only all the strong places of
Flanders and *Hainault* were to be
 ras'd to the ground. Hereupon, he
 was shortly to have been releas'd up-
 on *Geoffry Son of the Earl of Brab-
 ant* his standing surety for him; but
 whether it were that *Geoffry* refus'd
 to yield to that clause of the Treaty,
 or, that the King had taken fresh dis-
 pleasure from any words *Ferdinand*
 had let fall since this Negotiation,
 he was still kept a Prisoner, and his
 Wife thus frustrated of her hopes of
 seeing him again at liberty, yielded
 to the first invitation madeto her of
 entring into the League; The Earl
 of *Boulogne* encourag'd by this so
 speedy and prosperous success, made
 his next Address to two Brothers
 Princes of the Blood, viz. *Peter*
 Duke of *Bretaign*, and *Robert Earl*
 of *Dreux*: As for the Duke of *Bret-
 aign*, he was no less oblig'd to the
 Crown.

Crown of *France*, then the Earl of *Flanders*, and his Ingratitude was of no less tendency to the violation of all Right and Justice.

Now for the better understanding of an Entreaue which hath not been sufficiently made known, neither in the History of *France*, nor of any other Nation, it is to be noted, that *Rollando*, the first Duke of *Normandy*, compell'd by force of Arms, the first Earl of *Bretaign*, to do him Homage for his Earldom, in the same manner as the Dukes of *Normandy* have since done Homage for their Dutchies to the Kings of *France*, that is to say, *Bretaign* became an *arrier-fief* to the Crown of *France*. In this State it continued till the death of *Cowan*---Earl of *Bretaign*, who left Issue only one daughter nam'd *Constance*. This rich Heiress was courted by many, but *Henry* the second King of *England* pretended, as Duke of *Normandy*, the Right of Marriage,

Marriage, and partly, by his Authority, partly, by his Addresses of Courtship, obtain'd her, and had four Sons by her, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*. He design'd to leave to *Henry* the Crown of *England*, to *Richard* the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Main*, *Anjou*, and *Tourain*, which fell to him by Succession from his Father and Mother, and the Provinces of *Guien*, and *Poitou*, which he had in Marriage by his former Wife *Eleanor*. Between these two young Princes and the two daughters of the most Christian King *Lewis* the 7th. there was a solemn Treaty of Marriage, and the King of *England* had Interest enough to bring both to effect. *John* his 4th Son was design'd for Ecclesiastical Preferment ; so that a Match having been propos'd between the Heiress of *Bretaign*, and the house of *England*, she must now of necessity be married, if to any, to *Geoffry* King *Henry*'s third Son. In fine, she was married.

married to him upon considerations
meerly Political, for his perfon was
no way taking with the young Lady ;
but his death soon deliver'd her, and
left her to a second Marriage more to
her content; for she her self then
made choice of *Guy de Thouars*, a
Knight, the handsomest and bravest
person of his Age, by whom she had
but one daughter ; her first Husband
had left her big with Child of a
Son nam'd *Arthur*, whose death was
the more unhappy, for that he was
depriv'd thereby of such an accumula-
tion of Successions ; that of *Eng-*
land and the *French* Provinces there-
unto appendant, fell to him by the
death without Issue of his Fathers
two Eldest Brothers ; and *Bretaign*
being his at the same time in Right
of his Mother, he had doubtless in
prospect, had he liv'd, the vastest
Monarchy that had been known
since the partage of the Imperial Do-
minion of *Charles the Great*; but *John*
firnamed

surnamed *Lackland* the only Uncle, who surviv'd, procur'd his death to get his Estate, and by this means the daughter of *Guy de Thouars*, became sole Heiress of the Earldom of *Bretaign*. *Philip the August*, who taking advantage of the villany of *John Lackland*, had reunited the Dutchy of *Normandy* to the Crown of *France*, pretended that since *Henry* these cond, King of *England*, had power as being Duke of *Normandy*, to dispose of the Mother, he both as Duke of *Normandy*, and King of *France* together, had so much the better Title to dispose of the daughter. The branch of *Dreux* was at that time the most proper branch of the Royal Family: his appennage was small, he had neither Office nor Government, his Alliances had not enrich'd him, and it was to be fear'd he might lose his Rank for want of Estate; as it hapned some time since, to the branch of *Cortenai*, supposing his

his publish'd Genealogy be altogether exact. This made *Philip the August* the more willing to give the Heiress of *Bretaign* to *Peter de Dreux*, with this Condition, that *Bretaign* should henceforth be immediately held of the Crown of *France*, that is to say, that it should no more do homage, to whoever should be Masters of *Normandy*, in case that Province should ever be again dismembered from the Crown. The Condition was advantagious to both the new married Parties, since their Estates were now no longer held in *arrier fiefs*; nor would depend for the time to come upon a single Duke of *Normandy*, but only upon the first of Christian Kings. Nor did any one receive prejudice by it, in regard *Normandy* was reunited to the Crown. No wonder then if *Peter de Dreux* and his Wife accepted gladly the Condition, and observ'd it in all particulars. But that soon befel the

new

new Duke of *Bretaign* which is but too frequent with men of slender virtue, that is to say, he suffer'd himself to be drawn away, and transported by this flowing Tide of good fortune. The large Extent of this Country of *Bretaign*, and its advantageous Situation, gave it a very sufficient Title, and Merit in this Princes opinion to an absolute and independent Sovereignty; besides, he was pleas'd to flatter himself with this conceit that his carrying on so high a design, as the shaking of the French yoke, would immortalize his Name to all Posterity: which great undertaking, the better to accomplish, he was really perswaded that his siding with the Earl of *Boulogne*, and his Party, was as fair an opportunity as he could have wisht for, taking it for granted, that if the Earl succeeded, he could do no less than remit his homage of *Bretaign* in recompence of his declaring for him; In case he did not succeed,

ceed, the Regent in revenge, that she might oblige those Princes of the blood, who had taken part with him, to desert him, would be glad to descend to what ever they should demand of her. Thus the Duke of *Bretaign* turn'd Rebel upon false surmises, with which he fed his fancy ; but the most cross and untoward occurrence in his Revolt, was his drawing in upon a quite contrary principle, his Brother *Robert de Dreux*.

This Person had a Soul so sensible of all benefits, and so prone to grateful returns, that he thought he could not better testifie the high obligation he had to the Duke of *Bretaign*, for having left entire to him the Apennage of their branch, than by serving him for, or, against whom soever he desir'd, except the King. Thus he put himself under the Banner of the Malecontents, by a Motive the most excusable that ever was, if any excuse can be admitted in matters of Treason.

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The last Prince of the blood that the Earl of *Boulogne* drew in to his Party, was *Robert of Courtenay*, whom he found the more pliable to his Temptations by discontent, because, the branch of the *Drenx* had been preferr'd before his by the Match of *Bretaign*, and to engage him the more deeply, he had opportunity given him to make himself Master of certain summs of the Kings mony.

Raimond the 7th of that Name, Earl of *Tholouse*, surnamed the young, was before hand with the Malecontents, to whom without staying for any Invitation from them, he went and joyned of his own accord, upon the first prospect he had of a civil war. His main inducement to this proceeding, for he had none of those pretences which the rest made use of, was only to save himself by fishing in other mens troubled waters. The Court of *Rome*, whose Thunders ruin'd without Exception all those pet-

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ty Princes upon whom they lighted, was altogether inexorable toward this Prince, and would not quit him of those Ecclesiastical Censures which had been pronounc'd against him, though the refusal thereof was the greatest obstacle to the recovery of *Languedoc*, This Interdiction had so powerful an ascendant upon his Subjects minds, that they thought they might be very well excus'd from acknowledging him their Prince, with whom they were forbidden to have any Communication or Correspondence, insomuch, as all the relief and assistance he could get, was from those infected with the Albigensian Heresie. This sort of people were at that time not so numerous as the Catholicks ; and should the Regent take *Tholouse*, the Capital City of that Country, there would be no possibility of the Counts reestablishment. So that by thus engaging himself with the Malecontents, he thought on the
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one side let the worst come to the worst, he could not be more unfortunate than he was in that wretched Estate to which he had been reduc'd ; on the other side, the least success should attend his Party would conduce to the recovery of his lost Estate. The Earl of *Provence*, a Prince equally considerable, and his Cousin of the house of *Catalogne*, came in last of the French into the Earl of *Bolognes* Party, led by Motives which only concern'd him at a distance ; for he had no reason to complain either of the most Christian Kings in general, or, of the Regent in particular, against whom he could be no otherwise incens'd, than by those too deep reflections he made upon what might happen for the future, the French as he thought, border'd too near upon *Provence*, their Neighbourhood rendred them suspected to him ; when the French had a victorious King at the head of them, his fear

fear of being entangled in his Cousins Ruine kept him back from aiding him against them ; but after that this Warlike Prince was taken off by Death, he thought, that though he could not yet with safety pluck off his Vizard quite, and have recourse to open Arms in defence of the Earl of *Tholouse*, who was yet but half ejected, he might at least securely act under-hand, so as to engage them the sooner in a Civil War , which was in a manner already begun, to the end, he might give Advantage to the said Earl to recover *Langue-doc*, without being Oblig'd to any one but himself.

The greatest part of the Princes and Nobility of *France* being thus corrupted by the Artifices above-mentioned, the Earl of *Boulogne's* Faction was in all appearance strong enough not to stand in need of the help of strangers, yet nevertheless it was resolv'd no Aids should be

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refus'd, of how little necessity soever; as if it were not enough for *France* to be torn in pieces by its own Hands, but it must also borrow those of the most Ancient and Formidable Enemy.

King *Henry* the Third of *England* was a great Master-piece of Fortune, that is to say, he was equally an Object of her favours and her frowns; he had for his Father a Homicide, an Atheist, a Person dethron'd, and under all Ecclesiastical Censures, which followed him so close, he could neither get Food nor Harbour but in places and among People where he was not known: The Son had his share in all these Calamities, but they attended him no longer than during the Life of him who had drawn them upon his own Head. God, who, when he goes about to punish Crimes, hath an Eye upon the principal Actors, took pity on the House of *England*. As soon as this Mon-
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ster which it brought forth was cut off, Providence was particularly concern'd for *Henry the Third*, the Innocent Son of this so Criminal Father, and settled him in the Throne of *England*, when there was not the least likelyhood he should ever ascend it; and this Affair, which seem'd altogether impossible by all the Intrigues of Policy, was brought to pass almost in a moment, and that without either Trouble or Molestation, or Expence or Blood.

There remain'd nothing now but to recover those Provinces of *France* which had been won from *England* by *Philip the August*: And *Henry* thought now to compass that, without striking a stroak, which he in vain attempted by force of Arms in the Reign of King *Lewis* the 8th. viz. the re-uniting those Provinces to the Crown of *England*, and that by pretending to take part with the Seditious *French*, supposing the Regent

finding it impossible to oppose him, and at the same time to defend her self from those that went about to degrade her, would immediately upon notice of his Landing in *France* with a puissant Army, seek for an Accommodation, and offer him all that had been taken from the *English*, on Condition he would turn those Arms against the Rebels which he had design'd for their assistance. So that he had no sooner receiv'd the Earl of *Boulogne's* Message, which was meerly to sift out of him, whether or no he inclin'd to concern himself in the bickerings which were beginning in *France*, but he rais'd a far more puissant Army than any of his Predecessors had ever led against any of the most Christian Kings; moreover, under pretence of Obliging the Male-contents the more, he undertook to Command the Army in Person, and to be at all the Charges of Levying and Transporting

sporting it; but the real truth is, his going in Person was rather to hinder them from Treating with him by Writing, choosing rather by his Personal presence to have an Ear open to such Propositions as he presum'd the Regent would soon make to him. Behold here the whole Foundation of the League concer-
ted under the Minority of St. Lewis, never was there any one so Potent, or so cunningly driven on since the establishment of the *French* Monar-
chy; nor can the Abilities of Queen *Blanch* be any way better understood or express'd, than by the recount-
ing of those Intrigues by which she wound her self out of the most trou-
blesome Exigences that ever Heroick Vertue was reduc'd to, and made a shift to preserve the Crown in all its lustre for the King her Son.

The Male-contents had carried their Affairs with so much precaution and Secrecy, that the Court had not

the least Intelligence of them, and all the suspicion the Regent had, was only grounded upon two actions, subject enough to a dubious construction; the one was the great care which the Earl of *Bologne* took to fortifie *Calais*, the Town of his Apennage, and the usual place of Landing for the *English*: The other was the re-inforcement of the Garrisons which the Duke of *Bretaign* had put, at the request of the late King, into the Castles of *St. James*, *Beuron*, and *Belesm*. As there was just reason to apprehend that these two Innovations happened not but upon some Mysterious account, the Regent took an occasion hereupon immediately to bethink her self of her own safety; and not knowing as yet either the number or the quality of those that had combin'd for her Destruction, all that her Prudence could suggest to her, was to give Order to those Military Officers who

who had most eminently testified their Fidelity to her Husband, to raise what possible Force they could. 'Tis hard to resolve, whether it were by Choice or good hap, that matters succeeded according to her wish, but this is certain, that they acquitted themselves like Men of Honour in the Commissions she gave them, and brought their Troops timely enough into the Field to save the State, by preventing the Earl of *Bologna* from seizing upon his Nephew the Young King, and by an Action so seasonable, even to finish the War as soon as it was begun.

The Earl thus frustrated of his first Design, fore-saw that it would not be so easie a matter as he first fancy'd to himself to Degrade his Sister-in-Law, wherefore the better to make sure of his Accomplices, he endeavour'd by all means possible to make them irreconcileable with the Regent. He knew where the greatest

part of the Kings Treasure was kept, and there it was that he made his second Effort, accordingly he seiz'd on it, and distributed it to those of his Party, with this Condition, that those who were nearest to him should have the greatest share. This done, he led them towards *Calais*, there to joyn the King of *England*, who following the measures he had taken from the Male-contents, was to make his Descent at that very time. But there is nothing so uncertain as the managing of great Enterprizes, by reason of that general concourse of different Causes whereupon they depend for success.

The Regent lost neither her Courage nor her Judgment at a conjuncture when on the one side she had little or nothing to hope for; and on the other, very much to fear. Never was there known to come out of her Mouth either Complaint or Reproach. She knew exactly the bad

bad condition of her Affairs, and used all the Art of Dissimulation she was capable of to conceal what she thought, for fear of discouraging those faithful Persons she had remaining about her. She gues'd at the Earl of *Bologne's* Design from the very moment he took his March, and wisely gain'd her Advantage by the needless stop he made in *Eureux*, for the hindring of his passage. Moreover, as she concluded that *France* was in all likelyhood inevitably lost if the Male-contents should joyn the *English*, she had recourse to an Artifice which I cannot but stand astonish'd that no Historians ever yet made mention of. There was in *England* a Person named *Hubert de Bourg*, so considerable in all respects, that he was equall'd by no Man, either in Favour or Merit; he had a Wit beyond the Common rate, and his shape was such as what Poets use to attribute to *Heroes*. He was at

once both the most accomplish'd Cavalier and the most expert Captain of his Nation ; and never was there *English*-man a truer Lover, and more Zealous Patriot of his Countrey : He served both King and Kingdom to that degree, that both had an equal share of Obligation to him. It was by him that the Crown had been preserv'd in the Family of the *Plantagenets*, and that *England* had not been made a Province to the Crown of *France*. He defended to the utmost *Normandy* and *Guien* against *Philip the August*, and had successively in the chief places of both these Provinces held out long Sieges, and by his obstinate Resistance ruined whole Armies, never yielding to come to Capitulation till such time as the very Horses were all eaten up. Even the *French* his Enemies both admiring and honouring him for his Valour, thought they could never enough commend him
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when they saw him here in *England*; and how just their Commendations were, he ceas'd not afterwards to give them fresh demonstrations, since he alone it was who snatch'd out of Prince *Lewis* his hands the Conquest of this Island. He it was who by his Gallantry recovered the Town of *Dover*, and Defended it with that perseverance, that all the *French* Forces sent against it, were not able to re-take it. He afterwards beat them twice, once at *Lincoln*, another time before *Bedford*. In fine, he it was, who having dispos'd the *English* to acknowledge him, set King *Henry* upon his Throne.

And as the Obligation of this King *Henry* was very great, so His Majesties care and study to recompense him was no less; he confer'd upon him all the Principal Offices in the State, except that of High Admiral, for he was Grand Marshal, Lord High Treasurer, and Chief Justiciary all
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at one time. He had the Charge of the Transportation of those Troops which were design'd for *France*, which Trust while he was discharging with his ordinary care and vigilance, he received at that very juncture a Present of 5000 Marks of Silver with a Letter which neatly and wittily rallied upon his Vanity, by insinuating to him, that to make himself the most Illustrious Person that ever *England* bore, he who had lately settled the Crown of *England* upon the Head of Young King *Henry* his Master, maugre all the Force of *France*, ought now to make it his next business to set the Crown also upon the Head of the Young King of *France*, against all the united Forces both of his own Subjects, and of *England*.

The weakness of Humane Nature never discovers it self more plainly than when in a moment it yields to lesser Temptations, when at other times it hath for a long while withstood

stood greater. This was the Case of *Du Bourg*, who after he had been inflexible to the vast Offers of *Philip the August* and *Lewis the 8th.* suffered himself at last to be overcome with a petty Present and a poor frivolous bait of Vain glory offered him by a Foreign Princeſſ. He Equipp'd forth but half the number of Ships necessary for the Transportation of the *English Army*; and when the Noblemen, who had almost all in general provided to attend the King personally in this Expedition, came to *Dover* to see their Goods dispos'd of on board the Ships, there was not room nor Convenience found for them; nor could it be doubted but that either the Knavery or Negligence of *Du Bourg* was the cause, whereupon immediately Complaint was carried to the King.

Du Bourg was ſent for to give an account to His Majesty, but when he came, he made ſo lame a Defence for

for himself, that the King incens'd against him, called him Old Traytor, and drawing his Sword, had certainly run him through the Body, had not the Earl of *Chester*, an intimate Friend of *Du Bourg*, put by the thrust, and given Opportunity to other Persons interested in the Fortune of this Favourite, to interpose in his behalf, and to avert His Majesties displeasure for the present. In the next place, they made him keep out of the way, till such time as they had made his Peace, which was not long; for the King, however touch'd in the most sensible and incurable part, namely, that of Ambition, yet in the end suffer'd himself to be convinc'd that the old Obligations he had to this his Favourite ought to weigh with him more than the injury lately committed. He gave him his Pardon freely, and in some time receiv'd him into his wonted Grace and Favour.

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The Regent encourag'd with the success of her first Project, namely, her obstructing with so much ease the passage of the *English Army* over into *France*, put in execution a second Design, as no less bold and difficult in appearance, so also no less advantageous in case it succeeded : She was not ignorant how strong and fervent a Passion she had raised in the Heart of the Earl of *Cham-paign*, and had a shrewd conjecture that the despight of seeing himself treated with so much indifference was the onely cause which induc'd him to engage with the Male-contents, and accept of the Supreme Command of their Army. She had moreover too good an Opinion of her Charms, not to believe she could at any time when she pleased re-excite the Earls Love, and by never so small an expression of her Favour, call him back to his Devoir. It was now a fit time to make proof hereof,

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and the Regent resolv'd to put it in agitation her own way, that is to say, with an Air wherein to appear Obliging, she would nevertheless remit nothing of her wonted reservedness.

The Message she sent to this doubly Revolted Lover was onely this in short, *viz.* *That she should not be sorry to see him.* And this Complement, though the shortest and slenderest certainly that ever was in this kind, produc'd an effect the strangest that ever was heard of in the *French History* in matter of Love. It suffic'd to tie the Earl more strongly than ever, to the Chains of his Passion and her Interests, and to make him forget in an instant all the Coldness she had ever shew'd toward him; he lost that acuteness of Wit which was so Natural to him, and conspir'd with the Regent to deceive himself. He fancied that all of a sudden she began to have a tenderness, though there

there were all appearances imaginable to the contrary ; and this fancy of his was so strongly rooted, that he detach'd his Troops from the Rendezvous of those of the League, under pretence of going to beat up one of the Quarters of the Kings Forces, and carried them to joyn the Army which he feign'd he was going to set upon.

His Desertion put the whole party of the Rebels into such a disturbance and confusion, that all the Princes and Grandees thereof were not able to compose it. The most expedient way by which they thought to Remedy it, was immediately to make choice of another General, and they had the good hap to agree unanimously upon a Person whom they judged worthy to take upon him so important a place ; such an ascendent hath extraordinary Merit even upon the most Criminal minds. They all fixt their Eyes upon *Enguerrand*,
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the second of that Name, Lord of *Couci*, a Gentleman of *Piccardy*, of a Reputation too well receiv'd for any one not to submit to receive Orders from him. His Valour surmounted the common rate of Humane Actions, and the proofs he gave of it in the Wars of the Holy Land carried a greater semblance of Fable than of Truth, and might, though true, have better pass'd for Romance than what we read in the most Romantick stories. He had both Conduct and Honesty; and doubtless he had preserv'd the Empire of *Constantinople* in the *French Line*, had they promoted his Marriage with that Heiress, instead of Matching her imprudently, as they did, to *Peter of Auxerre*.

For what reason he entered into the League against the Regent is not known, but certain it is he refused the Command of their Army, and that not either for want of Courage, or despair-

despairing of Success. All Men are not easily carried away to all sorts of Crimes; and Heroick Vertue may, like the Sun, be capable of some spots that may obscure it, but never be totally darkned, no more than this King of Stars can wholly lose its Light. *Couci* moreover knew the vast difference between barely being of a Party in a Revolt, and being the Head or Chief of the said Party; and his Honesty became awake, if I may so say, when it saw it self expos'd to the most dangerous of Civil Temptations. He never throughly fore-saw the Consequences of his Engagment till he was just upon the Precipice; that is to say, till he found that the Charge which the Confederates would have confer'd upon him was design'd to spur on his Ambition, by lifting him up to a higher pitch than ever he aspir'd to. Besides, he comprehended the sense of those Mysterious words, and
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the quality of Parricide which lay lurking underneath, startled him; he was afraid of losing, in his advanced Age, that Glory which he had acquir'd in his Youth; and was unwilling to survive himself, by suffering those Lawrels to fade in *France* which he had gain'd in *Palestine*. He testified so great an aversion for the Generalship, that they durst not mention it to him a second time: And since the Memoirs which are extant of this great Personage make no further mention of him, it is to be suppos'd he quitted the League, and immediately retir'd to his Castle of *Couci*, there to spend the remnant of his days in a more innocent and quiet course of Life.

His refusal augmented among the Rebels that Disorder which his acceptance would have compos'd, and in fine, shatter'd them all to pieces. The Earl of *Tholouse*, who had promised to take the Field, kept his Forces

ces in their Quarters in the Town which bears that name, and the Earl of *Provence* forbore to declare himself till such time as he saw what Remedy could be apply'd to the making up of these Breaches. His keeping off was no less happy than prudent ; for as much as the Earl of *Bologne* being now convinc'd that these Designs formed against his Sovereign, could never succeed in the end, having so untoward a beginning, was the first who quitted that Work whereof he himself had laid the Foundation, and made an Accommodation apart with the Regent : What the Conditions were, is not known, but sure enough they were not very Advantageous, since on the one side his Apennage was not at all augmented, and on the other side, the Regent had no Money to give him. A little after, the Earl of *Dreux* return'd to his Duty, obtaining onely the confirmation of the partage made with

with his Brother the Duke of *Bretaign.*

The falling off of so many Persons of the first Rank, one would think, had been enough to have broken the League, nevertheless there were Princes and Gentlemen enough still left to continue it, and the Regent knew well enough that there would be a Party of the Rebels still on foot, so long as there might with ease be found a way to remove all pretext which should hinder them of a Retreat in *Bretaign* and the *Low Countries*, in case they should chance to be beaten in a Battel. It was a difficult matter to remove all at once two such grand Refuges; and the Regent, after she had a long time exercised the utmost of her Wit and Cunning, effected as yet but half of what she pretended to. The Duke of *Bretaign* remain'd still inflexible, and Threats wrought now no more upon him than Promises had done before,

before, so that the Regent as much exasperated as wearied out with the Obstinacy of this Prince, turn'd more efficaciously her Policy another way.

It was now about a dozen Years, that the Earls of *Flanders* and *Dampmartin* had lyen languishing in Prison; and as these two Persons were very near both Criminal alike, it seemed but just that there should be as little difference put in the Favour which was to be shewn them as there had been in their Guilt, and was in their Punishment. But their Tempers were not equal; the Earl of *Dampmartin* was of a Humour so ill contriv'd, that it was not possible to have any kind of Indulgence for him which he would not be apt to abuse. The League wanted a Head, and that very thing was sufficient to obstruct his Deliverance; for had he been let out, he had certainly gone immediately and joyn'd the Rebels. The Earl of *Flanders* had more of Honour

nour in him, and was not irregular in matters of Generosity, except in such Rencounters where he distinguish'd it not sufficiently from those Vices which are design'd to pass for it ; he had in his Soul a fund of goodness, which facilitated his return to his Allegiance, however he had been carried away by Passion or Weakness. The Regent being inform'd of the strong part and the weak of this *Portuguez* Prince, resolv'd to give him that Liberty which she deny'd the Earl of *Dampmartin* ; and as she never attracted so much Admiration as in matters of loud importance, so she particularly accompanied this with so many Obliging Circumstances for the Earl of *Flanders*, that he not onely remained firm himself to the Interests of his Benefactress, but also accepted of the Leave given him to return to his Wife, meerly upon this very account, that he might take her wholly off, as he did, from the League,

League, and oblige her to call home those Troops which she had sent into the Rebels Camp.

The Entreagues of Court were succeeded by the formalities of Justice ; the Regent after she had disjointed the League, summon'd the principal members to meet in Parliament at *Chinon*, and afterwards at *Tours*. The Members summon'd appear'd neither at the first, nor second Citation, but when they were commanded to appear the third time at *Vendome*, and had but twenty days time allow'd them for their appearance ; they consulted among themselves what they had best to do : The most furious of them were of opinion, that they might leave the matter to be judg'd by *Foreclusion*, and only bring it to a review when the war should be ended ; but the wiser sort were of a contrary judgment, alledging that it was always a troublesome thing to be cast in Cau-

ses of what nature soever, and that an Arrest could not possibly come out against them without leaving a blot upon their memory ; Hereupon they concluded, that it would be necessary to appear by Proxy, and if the Reasons they brought for the defence of their Cause, were not sufficient to satisfie her, they would at least serve to convince the People, that they were not so culpable as the Regent gave out ; but neither the one, nor the other of these Councils were follow'd, and the resolution they took was like the way of all seditious Assemblies in this, that they chose the very worst of all Expedients propos'd. It was carryed by the plurality of voices, that the Princes and most eminent Lords of the League, should repair to *Vendome*, with a very small Train, to perswade the Regent that they had a sincere desire of a reconciliation with her, presuming, that the Regent deluded
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by this fair pretence, would not fail to bring along with her, or at least send, the King her Son, to *Vendome*, with a small guard, by reason that on the one side, the presence of this young Monarch would be absolutely necessary, on the other side, she would be cautious of giving the occasion of suspicion to a People, who testified with so much frankness their readiness to submit to their Sovereign, which would be obvious, in case they should see him attended with a greater number than was usual upon such like Ceremonies ; that the Confederates who were Masters of *Estampes* and *Corbeil*, might without being perceiv'd draw out of those two places, as many Forces as would be sufficient to carry off the King ; and that the Regent having lost him, by whom she held her Authority, would be constrain'd to seek for an agreement with those whom she seem'd before so much to slight.

Who the Author was, of this pernicious Council, is not certainly known ; some Historians say it was the Duke of *Bretaign*, others, the Earl of *March* ; but from whose brain soever it proceeded, it was so exactly adjusted to the Conjunction of Affairs at that time, that nothing but Divine Providence which took particular care of the preservation of St. *Lewis*, could have frustrated the design. The most sagacious wisdom of this world hath its Intervals, and sometimes commits such failings as folly it self could not be guilty of greater. Seldom are long administrations without some error, as if the government of States were a kind of Sea, where at one time or other there must needs be Shipwreck. The Regent had hitherto follow'd the Maxims of most exquisite prudence, and her Enemies, who felt the sharp Effects thereof, admir'd her no less than her friends, who had the advantage

advantage of it, but all was spoil'd at one dash ; For whether it were that she hop'd suddenly to conclude a Peace, or, that she rely'd too much upon the judgments of her blind Counsellors ; she sent the King her Son to *Vendome* with a very weak guard.

Never were there civil wars in *France*, but had this inconvenience attending, namely, that the designs of one party, though never so secretly carry'd, were in a moment known to the other ; The Earl of *Champaign* had excellent Spies in the Army of the League, and never fail'd of being inform'd from time to time of whatever designs were form'd among them, in regard the chief of those who were most privy thereunto, held correspondence with him, consequently, he had immediately notice of all the particularities of the design laid for seising the sacred person of the King. He advertis'd

hereof the Regent who was then at *Paris*; for there the Council of State detain'd her, as supposing the presence of this Princess would discover the correspondences of the Rebels in that great Town.

The Regent was not so much troubled, though heartily angry at her self, for her indiscretion, at the error she had committed, as in pain, till she had found out a way to remedy it, nor was it long e're her admirable inventive wit prompted her to a way which answer'd her desires. She wrote to the King, who was in the *Bourg de Chastres*, to secure himself in the Castle of *Montleher*, till such time as she could send Forces sufficient to deliver him, and in regard the Army Royal was at too great a distance, she had recourse to the Citizens of *Paris*.

The Queen assembled all the Colonels, and other Officers from their respective Quarters, and in a most pathetick

thetick Speech represented to them the greatness of the danger the King was in, and the more effectually to move her audience, she gave frequent interruptions to her Speech with tears and sobs: and after she had thus mollified their hearts, she prick'd them on with the thoughts of what immortal glory would attend them in being the Instruments of their Monarchs Preservation: Moreover, she gave them to understand how little hazard they would run, provided they made haste, since the Rebels who design'd to seize upon the King, at the passage of *Eftampes*, would fall into their mouths without going farther, the Colonels then having assur'd her that they would presently go, and get their Companies together, and hasten their March, she provided experienc'd under-Officers, to order and conduct them. The *Parisians* arriv'd at *Montleher* sooner, and with greater

force then could have been imagin'd; and having drawn up in a large Battalion, they set the King in the midst of them, and brought him back along with them to their Town, before the Rebels had determin'd what measures were to be taken to oppose them: But by the same way that the Earl of *Champaign* came to know their design, they came to know that it was he who discover'd it to the Regent. However, the extraordinary desire which they had to be reveng'd of him, did not yet so far blind them, but that they foresaw it would be incomparably more advantageous for them to make use of the natural inconstancy of this Prince, and to draw him once more over to their Party, than unseasonably to endeavour his present mischief. The Duke of *Bretaign*, who had no Children but one Daughter, whose beauty was charming enough to raise the drooping Spirits of an ill treated Lover, had
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she not been endow'd besides with a Province of large Extent, offer'd the Earl of *Champaign*, provided he would take part with the League, to put into his possession the Princess of *Bretaign*, and to permit him either to espouse her himself, or to bequeath her to some other Prince of his house. This offer as advantageous as it was, the Earl refus'd, whether it were that he was not yet perswaded, that the Regent consider'd him no otherwise then as a property to be made use of, or, as hoping the two last Services he had render'd her, would produce at length the Effect which he had in vain expected, by all his former assiduities once more; he made his Love triumph over his Ambition, and all the fruit he drew from these Temptations, was to advertise the Regent thereof, to the end she should be sensible, that if he yielded not, she was the sole cause The Rebels more offended at his re-

usful, than they had been at his de-
sertion; conceiv'd so implacable a
malice against him, that they left
the Regent to her quiet and repose,
and resolv'd to turn their Arms a-
gainst *Champaign*; they conspire his
ruine by a particular Treaty, and as
they foresaw that the Regent was
too much oblig'd to abandon him
to people whom he had not quitted
but for her; they found a pretext so
plausible, that she durst not appar-
ently assist him, without commit-
ting a notorious piece of Injustice.

Divine Providence had not ut-
terly abandon'd the two Nieces of
the Earl of *Champaign*, though de-
frauded of their Right, by their Uncle. The Eldest nam'd *Alice*, had the
fortune to be married to *Hugo de Lu-
signan*, the first of that Name, King
of *Cyprus*; The goodness of *Henry*
Father of this Princess, doubtless pro-
cur'd her this Match, and the Lord
of *Joinvile*, the most credible of all
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the Historians that write of St. *Lewis*, hath a passage concerning this matter, which it will not be from the purpose here to abbreviate: *Henry Earl of Champaign*, the Eldest Brother, and Predecessor of *Thibault*, was of so free and liberal a disposition, to give to all sorts of People, especially the poor, that he was thence surnam'd the *Large*, that is to say, large hearted, or bountiful. He had no particular Favourite, only there was one *Artaud* a Citizen of *Troyes*, who had insinuated into his familiarity, whether it were, that there was some conformity in their humours, or, that the Earl had the more consideration, for *Artaud*, in regard he was the richest of his Subjects. One day when they were together at Church, a poor Gentleman presented his two daughters to the Earl, and besought him to bestow something upon them to marry them off. They were handsome, and of

an Age so fully ripe for Marriage, that in case they stay'd much longer unprovided for, it was to be fear'd their virtue might be in danger.

Artaud knew well enough that the Prince his Exchequer was much exhausted, and brought low; and as he had many times taken upon him to answer for the said Earl, without being thought ill of for his pains, so upon this occasion he smartly told the Gentleman, that the Earls Liberality had already brought him so low, that he had hardly any thing left to give.

There is nothing so ungrateful to the quality of a Prince as Poverty, and therefore nothing so ill to be brook'd by them as the reproach thereof; The Earl now incens'd at the too much liberty, or, to say better, sauciness of *Artaud*, told him he lyed, and that he had yet enough to give, if it were but an *Artaud*; and at the instant of his pronouncing the word

word *Artaud*, he made signs to the Gentleman to seise upon the Citizen, and to demand what Ransome for him he pleas'd. The Gentleman accordingly took hold of him, carryed him away to Prison, and there detain'd him till he had paid 500 Li-vres, which serv'd for Portions for the two Damsels.

The Rebels took hold of Count *Henry's* Liberality, to concern themselves in his behalf to their own advantage, maintaining, that it was a thing not to be endur'd, to see the Eldest Daughter of him who had reliev'd so many poor People kept out from her hereditary Estate ; and accordingly offer'd their assistance toward her reestablishment. The Queen of *Cyprus* took them at their word, and the *Champaignes* seeing them enter their Countrie with two Armies, one commanded by the Duke of *Bourgogne*, the other by *Hugo de Lusignan*, Earl of *March*,

let

let open the gates of all their Towns, before Earl *Thibault* could bring up the Army Royal to their succour. The Rebels success gave them opportunity to take new measures, they abandon'd all the pretence they had formerly made use of against the Regent, and declar'd themselves her Majesties most humble Servants, they protested they had taken Arms only to restore the Queen of *Cyprus* to that E state she layd claim to, they offer'd to lay down their Arms, as soon as their most Christian Majesties should have beheld with satisfaction and approbation the reestablishment of this Princess, and to decide the difference between her and her Uncle, by a fair combate, presuming, there were no less than 300 Knights, as well on the one side, as the other. Their Majesties accepted the submission of the Rebels with this reserve, that they were to have the Sovereign decision of the affair in hand, after

after they had try'd all ways which their prudence should suggest to them, to bring the Parties to agreement, but that above all things it was expected his most Christian Majesty should be invested with the Right of Sequestration, that is, should have the Title of all the Estates in Controversie deposited in his Royal hands.

The Rebels who found that this Expedient would not turn to any account to them, rejected it, and the Regent sent Forces enough into *Champaign*, to dislodge the Earls Enemies. She foresaw in the end, that in pronouncing a definitive Sentence upon so nice a Process, her Authority and Reputation would be much expos'd and brought into danger; for that if her Sentence were favourable to the Earl of *Champaign*, all the *French* would be ready to tax her of notorious Injustice, especially if she should make it her business in this affair, to serve her pretended Lo-

ver.

ver, all the Satyrical wits would begin to let fly at her, with more fury than before : on the other side, if she should decree the Queens reestablishment in her Estate, of the house of *Champaign*, she would be liable to be censur'd of Ingratitude toward Count *Thibault*, to whom she ow'd her Regency at least, if not her Life. In short, which way soever she gave her Sentence, all outward appearances conduce to this perswasion, that the Arrest would be subject to a review, because otherwise the Duke of *Bretaign*, and the rest of the revolted Peers, would not have been assistant in it ; so that the business could not but go well on the fair one's side : and this the Regent brought the better about by a trick, which in brief was as followeth. She represented to the Queen of *Cyprus*, that the Rebels sending for her, was but to make her endure a long continuance of affliction, after a short flash

flash of joy, for that no sooner should she be put into the possession of her Fathers Estate by their means, but she would be driven out again, and that she plainly foresaw the Rebels would not be in a capacity of restoring her the second time ; wherefore since her engaging with them would signify so little to her, there remain'd but one Expedient by which if she would take her advice, she might come off with honour. That she had but one Son, who in regard he was oblig'd to reside in *Cypruss*, would not be able to preserve the Inheritance of *Champaign* any long time, though she her self should leave the peaceable possession of it to him : that her daughters would never find Matches in *Cypruss* answerable to their quality, that therefore it would be much better for her by yielding to an accomodation with Count *Thibault*, to receive a present summ of mony, and such a portion of

of Land in *France*, as would put her into a capacity of matching her daughters into Sovereign houses, than by standing out to be reduc'd to a Condition of having nothing to give them.

The Queen of *Cyprus* was not without those failings which are usual with persons of little or no experience in the World; she despair'd of ever bringing to pass those affairs, in which she was bauk'd at first, and had too much impatience in the midst of ill fortune, to wait the turning of the Tide. She had entertain'd a belief that it was not the will of God she should ever be Countess of *Champaign*, because she had twice in vain made her pretensions to it, and in the heat of this perswasion, she consented to a Treaty, without communicating the affair to any of those that had been the occasion of sending for her over into *France*: She was contented to accept of 40000 Livres of

of ready mony, and the Counties of *Brienne* and *Joigni*, for all she pretended to of her Fathers and Mothers Estates.

Earl *Thibault* was not so indiscreet to refuse an agreement which was of such advantage to him, but he wanted money, and the summ he was to raise was so considerable, that his Subjects harrass'd by the quartering of so great Forces as had lately been among them, were not able to furnish him, and no less unable to assist him, were the rest of the Feudatories his friends; so that if it were anywhere to be had, it must be had out of the Kings Exchequer ; but the Regent was too prudent to take any thing out from thence, but upon very good Terms, and what ever obligations she and the King, her Son, had to the Earl, when all things came to be weigh'd in the ballance of Truth, it would easily appear that he had done them as much harm as good,

good, having poison'd the Father of the one, and the Husband of the other. His power too great for any Vassal, gave him the boldness to commit this crime, and the only way to be reveng'd on him for it, was to reduce him to such a Condition, that his Successours should never dare to have any thoughts of the like attempts, as not being able to execute them with Impunity. In short, the design in hand was to weaken the house of *Champaign*, and this present occasion was too favourable to be neglected. The Regent waited the time when this Summ should be desir'd of her, and when the busines was mov'd, she made answer she was ready to lend, provided such Security were given for the repayment thereof, as was fit to be accepted by a King's Mother, and Governess. The Earl offer'd her Majesty to engage those Counties he posseis'd in the heart of the Kingdom ; but it was answer'd

answer'd him, that this kind of Engagement would be subject to grand Inconveniences and hazards, both as to the repayment of Principal and Interest ; and the care which was to be had to repair wastes, and make Improvements ; that it became a Governess to avoid as much as possibly she could, all kind of Embarrasments in the affairs of her Pupil : In fine, if the Earl had a mind to sell, she was willing rather to purchase than tolend mony. The Earl saw well enough that they went about to ruin him, in so subtile a manner, as that he should have no certain foundation or pretence of complaint ; he was a man of too much sense and spirit, not to be troubled to see himself thus dealt with, and to find by these proceedings, that the Regent was far from ever having any inclination for him : but it was no time now to declare his resentment, and he foresaw that in case he refus'd to relinquish

relinquish a part of his Inheritance, he should be sure to lose all; Upon which he consented to sell the King, his Earldoms of *Charters*, *Blois*, and *Sancerre*, and the Viscountship of *Chateaudun*; and out of the money of this sale, Her Majesty deducted 40000 Livres which she paid immediately to the Queen of *Cyprus*,

The Rebels by this Transaction being frustrated of the pretence, they had of treating the Earl as an Enemy, and on the other side, not being able easily to resolve upon forgiving him, found out another Expedient, which was no less advantageous to their Party. They laid Treason to his Charge, impeaching him of the untimely death of his late Sovereign Lord King *Lewis* the 8th. by poysen given him, and offer'd to undergo the severest penalties that could be inflicted upon false accusers, if they did not plainly prove him guilty of two Crimes, which rendered

dred him unfit for humane Society, that is to say, of high Treason against his Sovereign Lord, and of being a Traitor against his Country. This they urg'd with Arms in their hands, and the danger which threatened the Crown, from their impetuous heat, was thought so considerable, that all the grand Ministers of the Kings Council were of Opinion, that the best way would be to give, them some satisfaction. The Count himself was of the same Sentiment for quietnes sake, and it was with his own consent, that the Queen upon Treaty with them, made the chief Condition of their laying down their Arms, to be the Earl of Champaign's taking upon him the *Croisada*, and setting out immediately for the holy Land, attended with a hundred Knights at least, to be maintain'd at his own Charge.

This was a very notable Expedient, in regard it equally pleas'd both Parties.

Parties ; For on the one side, the Earl found it very advantageous to him, in regard, both his Crime met with a far gentler punishment than it really deserv'd, or he could have hop'd for, had he been brought to Trial ; and his Reputation was in a manner salv'd, by going in a croud of so many innocent persons, as daily went upon this Expedition, upon no other motive than their most ardent zeal. On the other side, the Rebels also obtain'd what they desir'd; for, besides that they had a long time of deliverance from their Enemy, and the satisfaction of having put him upon an Expedition, from whence few valiant men live to return ; If the accusation wherewith they branded him were not made out in full, it was at least in part, for admitting, there were among the *Croisado'd* Champions many innocent persons, there were also many culpable ; and as divers Princes and great

Great men led Armies over into *Palestine*, merely for the accomplishing of those religious vows they had made for the recovery of the holy places, where Jesus Christ had been conversant, and died for the Salvation of mankind ; So there were others, of no less grandure, who undertook this Voyage, or rather Pilgrimage, as a penance enjoyn'd, and to obtain absolution of those Ecclesiastical Censures, which they lay under. And this was the case of *Henry the second, King of England*, who, for his Assassination of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, had this penitential Voyage enjoyn'd him by Pope *Alexander the third*, which our Earl of *Ghampaign* so willingly accepts.

Civil wars and the Defluxions of the body end much after the same manner, that is to say, by discharging themselves all at once upon the weakest part, and throwing on it a greater weight than it is able to bear.

The *French* were almost brought to a right understanding, yet nevertheless would not easily consent to lay down their Arms ; they earnestly press'd to be employ'd in prosecuting the design of *Lewis* the 8th. and there was reason to fear, lest the refusal of their demand might occasion new troubles. Never was there a fairer prospect of the Conquest of *Languedoc*; the longer the delay, the greater would be the difficulty, and the Interests of State were not to be neglected, so long as they were seconded by those of Religion. In order hereunto, the Regent resolv'd to drive the Earl of *Tholouse* to the utmost extremity ; and the better to assure her self of the greatest advantage possible in all humane appearance, she made it her first business to deprive this Prince, whose ruine she design'd, of the surest refuge he had to trust to.

It hath been already observ'd that
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the Earl of *Provence* was his Cousin, and a Prince in like manner as himself, of the house of *Catalogne*. *Languedoc* had expectation of assistance more ways than one. Those of *Provence* were in a Condition to aid them, if not directly, yet at least indirectly, being at that time the most free from war of any people in *France*, and their Prince the most mony'd man of any Prince in *Europe*. Mony was the main thing the Earl of *Tholouse* wanted, and but for the want of which he could not have wanted Souldiers, notwithstanding all the Excommunications thunder'd against him from the Court of *Rome*. Above all things therefore the Earl of *Provence* must of necessity be taken off; him the Regent knew to be a sincere man and a most punctual observer of his word; wherefore she represented to him, by secret Messengers, that he was now grown old, and could not, if

he regarded his health, and consider'd his true Interest, engage himself in the Earl of *Tholouse* his quarrel, without drawing an inevitable war upon *Provence*, let him use all the caution he could. That he had only our daughters, and the Earl of *Tholouse* but one, so that since the house of *Catalonia* was drawing toward a period, he could not better consult for the honour and advantage of his Family, than by making an Alliance with that of *France*, which beyond all dispute, was the noblest in the world. That the Eldest of the *Provencian* Princesses could not be more happily matcht than with the young King of *France*; that this proposal was not so much upon the account of her Estate, as of her matchless beauty, and the charming sweetness of her Nature; and to evince to the Earl that this Alliance was not in the least promoted, in reference to the uniting of his Estate to

to the Crown of *France*, there should be a renunciation made to any such pretension upon the contract of Marriage of the King, with his Eldest daughter, and free leave given him to divide all he had among his three younger daughters, or to give it to her of the three, whom he preferr'd before the rest. The Earl of *Provence* could never have been more easily tempted than by two such soft and obliging Propositions, as the concluding his Life in Tranquility, and repose, and the liberty to dispose his Estate as he pleas'd ; For besides that, he was much of the temper of those effeminate Princes, who hate nothing more than business : he was overtaken with the vice of those who happen to have Children in their old Age, that is to say, he lov'd the Princess *Beatrice* his youngest daughter better than any of the other three, to her he design'd to leave *Provence*, and as a man is apt for the most part

to give way to the belief of what he earnestly and constantly desires, he perswaded himself that in preferring the youngest, he should do no wrong to the three Elder daughters, since it was his intention to leave them his Treasures which he look'd upon as treble the value of his Sovereignty.

He fancy'd, if the King of *France* by marrying of his Eldest daughter, shewd himself an approver of what he had determin'd, who ever shou'd have the two next in Marriage, would not dare to gainsay it ; and he had so great confidence in the Regents word, that he doubted not in the least of her promise, however, she deferr'd the Nuptials for some years by reason of the minority of the young Couple. All these Considerations dispos'd him so perfectly to a Compliance, that he beheld the ruine of the Count of *Tholouse* with as much insensibility, as if he had been neither his Relation, nor his Neighbour.

Neighbour. In fine, the Regent being well assur'd that the *Albigenses* could not receive any succours from *Provence*, and out of fear of any supply to come to them from *Spain*, in regard the *Aragonians* and *Castilians* were at wars together, sent the *French Army* into *Languedoc* under the Command of *Imbert de Beaujeu*, Constable of *France*, a Captain, whom *Simon of Montfort* first advanc'd in the war.

The Earl of *Tholouse* did not all this while lye stil; but whether it were that he perceiv'd the League would not last long, or, whether he grew sensible of the error he had committed in not taking advantage of the perplexity the Regent had been envolv'd in, to recover entirely whit he had lost, he made haste to take the Field, and laid Siege to the Town of *Castel Sarasin*, the strongest next *Avignon*, of all that the *French* held in *Languedoc*; he

found it well Garrison'd, and a place of too great strength, what ever he had fancy'd, for him easily to take, which was the principal cause of his utter ruine, since the unprofitable attempts he made to take it by Force cost him all his best Souldiers : and thinking it derogatory to his honour not to take it by Storm, he lost so much time in making his approaches and Batteries, that when at last he was driven to accept of it by Surrender, the besieged were scarce got out before the *French Army* return'd into *Languedoc*.

It was no less powerful than that which had been there before, under the Command of King *Lewis the 8th*; for besides that, scarce any one of the Feudataries was wanting, the Clergy resolving to pluck up Root and Branch, all that was remaining of Heresie in the Kingdom, thought it not enough to send those Souldiers which they were oblig'd to set out by

by the Fiefs they held of the Crown; their zeal carry'd them yet farther, and the opinion they had, that it was a holy war they were engag'd in, because the Popes Legate march'd with the Cross at the Head of the Army, made them open their purses wider, and they doubled those Companies formerly rais'd. Nor was this their Liberality thought altogether enough to express their Devotion, some of the Prelates who were able to endure the hardships of war, put on Arms themselves, as *Amelius* Arch-Bishop of *Narbon*, and *Foulk* Bishop of *Tholouse*.

The Seculars no less encourag'd by this Example, when by the plenary indulgence the holy See granted, flock'd from all parts to take the Field, and added by their concourse so much strength and power to the Army, that the Earl of *Tholouse* was forc'd to quit the Field. The *Albigensian* Towns which rose against

the *French*, at the first report of their divisions ; seeing them afterwards so strong, repented of their inconstancy, and endeavour'd to prevent the universal desolation where-with they were threatned ; the extream rigour which was exercis'd against the first that stood out, striking terror into the rest. The Constable no sooner appear'd before any Town, but the Keys were immediately surrendered, even the Garrison of Castle *Sarafin* made Proposal to the Burghers of the Town, to come to Capitulation before Summons sent ; So that this strong Town which had before endur'd a long Siege, sent their Deputies to the *French* before they sat down before their Walls. All submitted but *Tholouse*, and this great Town whose Colonies had formerly peopled so many Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*, was now forc'd for its defence, to admit of a foreign aid, drawn from all the Neighbouring.

ing parts, even those most infected with Heresie. In the Siege of this place, the *French* who were become better instructed than formerly, by the Experience they had gain'd before *Avignon*, order'd their affairs with very much prudence and conduct: they design'd, 'tis true, to take *Tholouse* by Storm, but it was by such Methods as Military Discipline taught them. They gain'd ground by degrees, and manag'd their Instruments of Battery with wonderful address; and by their incessant and impetuous playing made wider Breaches in the Wall than the besieged, though considerable in number, were able to repair: by which means the Town was reduc'd to inevitable danger of being lost: the Towns men remembred that the Town of *Avignon* had been given over to plunder and pillage, and that their's had no reason to expect more favour, as being neither less rich, nor less criminal,

ual. Thus not coming to a clear sense of their misfortune, till at a time when it was too late to avoid the danger, they fancy'd it greater than really it was, and their disturb'd Imagination caus'd them in a moment to lose that respect which till then they had preserv'd for their Sovereign, as Criminal and unfortunate as he was.

They form'd a Conspiracy, so much the more dangerous, by how much the better it was regulated. They sent Deputies to their Earl to advertise him, that if he would not that very day bestir himself effectually to treat in their behalf, they were resolv'd themselves to treat the next day without him. The Earls strength in *Tholouse* was at that time not very great; for though he had a little before the Siege brought into the Town a number of *Albigenses* out of the Neighbouring parts which were most devoted to him, upon the account

count, that their Goods or Estates, being seiz'd by the Catholicks, their chiefest hopes were in him for redress. It was the fate of the greatest part of these Hereticks to be slain either in the Sallies that were made for the burning of the battering Engines, or in defence of the Walls; so that the Towns-men who in the beginning of the Siege were the weakest part of the Defendants, were become in the end the strongest: and thus the Earl of *Tholouse* was constrain'd to take Laws from those to whom he had intended to have given Laws, and desir'd leave of the Constable to send to the Regent to assure her he was ready to receive what Conditions her Majesty should be pleas'd to impose upon him.

The Constable's Interest preserv'd *Tholouse* from pillage, and all manner of violence, in regard he was promis'd the Government. His power extend'd so far, as to conclude a Cessation
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of Arms, and he sign'd the agreement after he had taken such Sureties as were requisite upon such like occasions. Here it is that a most proper opportunity offers it self to speak of Queen *Blanche's* Grand Master-piece, in matter of Negotiation ; and the Treaty here following, is held to have been one of the best manag'd Treaties that ever was concluded for the advantage of *France*, since it was first a Monarchy ; however, it cannot be here represented entire, since the Regent had but one part in it, the Court of *Rome*, and the Court of *France* being both equally concern'd ; and the Pope's Interests being neither manag'd with less heat, nor taking up less time in debate than those of the King of *France*. The same Legate we have already mention'd, had here a great opportunity of shewing his vast abilities, and the notable proficiency he had made in the knowledge of the Cabinet: here he

he laid the Foundation of those acquisitions, the holy See soon after gain'd, and to this day possesseth in France.

The more particular mention of the Intrigues of this great Minister of State, will be best reserv'd for a discourse, wherein the Rights of the most Christian King to the Town of *Avignon*, and the Earldom of *Venaissin* shall come to be examin'd. Here we shall only observe, that the Regent was too prudent to assent to the Earl of *Tholouse* his Propositions offer'd in Council, or, to conclude an Accommodation with him in that haste he propos'd. She was yet scarce disengaged from a civil war rais'd principally against her Authority ; and she was too discreet to imagine, that the readiest way to oblige the remaining part of the Rebels to lay down their Arms, would be to determine the affair of *Languedoc*, the greatest affair that had been known in

in *France*, since the third Race, without the advice of the Barons of the Realm. It was therefore thought fit to invite the Barons to a Conference with the Deputies of *Tholouse*; and the Town of *Meaux* was made choice of for the place of Assembly, not only as being most commodious for the Feudataries, whose Residences were almost equally distant from it, but also in respect of its nearness to *Paris*, by which means the place would be the more easily supplied with such a quantity of Provisions as would be necessary for such an Assembly, and so great a Concourse of People.

The pleasant Season of the Year *viz.* 1228. made the Resort of People the greater; and such as for their past faults fear'd the Courts displeasure, obtain'd of the Regent all necessary assurances both as to their coming, their stay, and their return; but it was no very easy matter to quiet,

quiet their minds as for the time to come, and the Regent her self went about in vain to satisfie them by ordinary means. They went, or to say better, ran to the War of *Languedoc*, with a Transport of Zeal, which gave them not time to make such Reflections as concern'd their own proper Conduct, till after such time as Heresie was almost subdued. They had consider'd the Earl of *Tholouse* as an Enemy to the Crown of *France*, so long as they had their Swords in their hands; but from that very moment that they laid down their Arms, their Aversion so totally ceas'd, that pass'd all at once, and without any *Medium* from the extremity of Vengeance, to extremity of pity. It was no extraordinary thing to them to see Rebel Vassals ruin'd, and the Reign of *Philip the August* had given sufficient Examples thereof. There was not any of those whose Estates they had seen confiscated, so culpable

ble as the Earl of *Tholouse*, since besides the Crime of high Treason, both as to God and man, which he had more than once committed : he was, if not the Author of a very dangerous Heresie, yet, at least, the entertainer of it from the first broachers, and the cherisher of it, as I may so say, in his bosome : he thought it not enough to hinder Royal Justice from seising on the Persons, and enquiring into the Crimes of those who taught it in his Province ; but he himself became a Preacher thereof, contrary to the Genius of the *French* Nobility, who had at that time an Antipathy both for the Doctrine, and those who were engag'd in it. He alone had perverted more Catholicks than all the rest of the *Albigenses*, and to complete the measure both of his obdurate pravity of Nature, and of the misfortune that attended it, he relaps'd into the same Heresie he had consented

consented to abjure; which alone was enough to render the Court of *Rome* irreconcilable to him.

There was now no place left for Excuse or Complaint, and there were such Circumstances in his Degradation, as have scarce been known in the Case of any other Criminal. He surviv'd a War which had been undertaken chiefly for his chastisement; he submitted himself before he was driven to the last Extremity: he came to Terms in a Town, wherein he might have held out a longer time by much: he pretended to no hopes of Favour, but in the Clemency of their Majesties.

The Indulgences formerly us'd by the most Christian Kings, to the Natives of *France*, bred up in the same Principles, were now no less favourably apply'd to the Earl of *Tholouse*, for never were Fiefs seen to change their Family; and the Relations, especially the Descendants of Criminals, had

had alwayes the Forfeitures of the Estates remitted to them, provided on the one side, they were never partakers with them in their Crimes, and on the other side, were capable of the Homage requir'd. All this while the Earl of *Tholouse*, his Fief, was by the Female side ; for it was well known that a Woman brought it into the house of *Catalonia*. The said Earl had only one daughter, who being but nine Years of Age, could not possibly be charg'd with the least concernment in any of her Fathers Crimes. *Languedoc* had been posses'd by his Ancestors for 22 Generations, and it would have been thought hard for the misdemeanour of the present possessor to ruin a Family, wherein 21 Persons successively have been free from all Tainture. In fine, if it were advantageous in one sense, for the Regent to augment her Authority, by reuniting to the Kings demeans the Estate

Estate of one of the most considerable Peers of *France*, it would be dangerous in another sense, since upon such an attempt as this, all the rest of the Feudataries of the said Crown, as well in general, as in particular, would be concern'd to hinder it, for fear this one Spark kindled should raise a Flame great enough to catch hold of each of them in their turn, and give them such occasions of discontent, as must needs incite them to a Revolt; so that in the end the necessity of their punishment, would be an inevitable occasion of empairing that Grandure, which at present gave lustre to the Crown.

The *French* came off handsomly enough, in the declaring of what they had in their mind, and the Regent who had heard them more than once; found a way to satisfie them without neglecting in the main, the Interests of her Son. She agreed with the Earl of *Tholouse* his Deputies upon

upon Conditions more advantageous than he could have hop'd for : she consented that their Prince should be reestablish'd in the possession of *Languedoc*, upon Condition, only the Fortifications should be demolish'd : she permitted him the quiet possession of this large Province as long as he liv'd, and let him know withal, that she design'd nothing less than to keep the Princess his daughter out of her hereditary possession : on the contrary, she would take care to preserve it entire to her Posterity. It was her opinion the Princess could not be better provided for, than by being espous'd to *Alphonso of France*, Earl of *Poitou*, being of the same Age with her, neither did she demand any other Security for the Earls performance of his word, but that the Princess should be brought up at Court. She insisted indeed, to have the Articles of Marriage inserted in the Treaty of peace, and thereby

by handsomly took occasion to have this one Article slip'd in, *viz.* that in Case both the young married Persons should dye without Issue, *Languedoc* should be again united to the Crown of *France*, as indeed it hapned. Her pretence for this Article was, that no person might receive any prejudice, since St. *Lewis* was to espouse the Eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Provence*, presumptive Heiress of the Princess of *Tholouse*; and in Truth, she in such sort concerted this great Affair, which gave jealousie to all the world, that no body could find any cause to murmur at it.

The Earl of *March* by this means was gain'd, and his only daughter contracted to *John* of *France*, the King's youngest Brother.

Thus the Earl of *Bretaigne* was left alone in the League, whose obstinacy was, that he chose rather to be expos'd the sole Mark of all the *French*

French Forces now united together, than to accept of those advantageous Conditions offer'd him by the Queen. The very Civilities she shew'd him at a juncture of time when all things seem'd to conspire his ruine, exasperated the spirit of this Capricious Person ; and because the Consciousness of his own guilt represented to him all kindnesses and good Offices done him as Counterfeit, he consequently fancy'd what the Regent did to oblige him, to be but meer Formality, and done only to draw him into a farther snare ; and upon this false presumption, he instantly went and treated with *England*. The Regent was soon advertis'd hereof, and resolv'd to lose no time in driving on the business to a Head, the Winter began to come on very sharp, and the time was overpast for setting out the *English* Fleet to Sea, for the relief of *Bretaign*, which was now brought to do Homage to the King of

of *England*, the *French* encouraged by the presence of their most Christian Majesties, went directly, and after a short Siege took the Town of *Angers*, which King *Lewis* the 8th, having taken from the *English*, had put into the hands of the *Bretons*.

The Queen had no sooner dispatch'd what she went about in *Angou*, but with the same Expedition and Diligence as she had march'd thither, she return'd and laid close Siege to *Belesme*, the Capital City of *Perch*, and the strongest place the Enemy then had. It was thought impregnable, but the Rams and other Engines of Battery having at last thrown down the Walls, made it appear to be otherwise. The besieged came to Capitulation, but not till such time as the Besiegers were almost tir'd with continual labour, for they had as hard a task to defend themselves from the rigours of the Season, as from the Arms of the besieged.

the extremity of Cold causing such a Paralytick Distemper among them, that those affected therewith, could hardly escape death, the only way was, to sit basking continually by a good fire side. Thus, through one, or other obstacle, their Majesties found it a difficult matter to march their Army into *Bretaign*, and this probably was the main Reason, why they sought out another Expedient for the putting an end to the War.

The Regent sent to the Nobility of *Bretaign*, and represented to them, that their Lands would certainly be laid waste, if they did not immediately put themselves under the Kings Protection, that the danger she warn'd them of, was very near at hand, and that their Duke would not be able to help them: then she made her Address to the Parliament of *France*, and requir'd to have *Bretaign* put into the King's hands, the Parliament yielded to her demand,

mand, and acquitted this Province of their Homage to their Duke, who thereupon, was depriv'd of the principal Refuge he had to trust to, and his Troops now no longer consisting of such Gentlemen, as held of him by any Tenure of Land, drop'd away by degrees, and were all dis pierc'd in a short time ; He was driven in fine to this *Dilemma*, either to keep himself shut up in some strong Town, or, to pass over into *England* : the first of these two extreams would infallibly bereave him of his Liberty, if not of Life also : the second, by forcing him to quit his Party, would reduce him to a private Condition. Those who by chance or accident arrive to Sovereignty, more grievously resent a fall, than those whom a natural Title, and the Laws have invested with a power of Reigning. Thus streightned and perplex'd, he resolv'd at a Venture to submit to whatever the Regent

would impose upon him ; and in Conclusion, came off with the Surrendry of the Lands, which the house of *Bretaign* possess'd in *France*, besides, the Dutchy ; and giving in Security both for himself, and his Heirs, that the said Dutchy should from that time forward, never hold of any but the Crown of *France*. The firname of *Mauclerk* stuck upon him to future Ages, for having so ill taken his measures with the *French* Rebels, and with the *English*, that in the end he was left alone to bear the whole brunt of the Controversie. And now Queen *Blanch* had no more to trouble, or, obstruct the quiet administration of Her Regency, but through the vain Attempts of those that labour'd to oppose Her, was so much the more strongly fix'd and establish'd therein.

F I N I S.

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S. Magnes.

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- 4 *Count Gabales*.
- 5 *Hatag*, or the Amours of the King of *Tamaran*.
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- 7 Madam and the Duke of *Guise*.
- 8 Madam *Colonna's Memoires*.
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- 10 *Don Sebastian King of Portugal*.
- 11 *Heroine Musquetier*.
- 12 *Princes of Cleves*.
- 13 *Obliging Mistress*.
- 14 *Fatal Prudence*.
- 15 *Princes of Fez*.
- 16 *Disorders of Love*.
- 17 *Triumph of Love*.
- 18 *Victorious Lovers*.
- 19 *Almanzor and Almanzaida*.
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- 1 *Tartuff, or the French Puritan.*
2 *Forc'd Marriage, or the Jealous Bride-
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3 *English Monsieur.*
4 All mistaken, or the Mad Couple.
5 Generous Enemies, or the Ridiculous
Lovers.
6 The Plain-Dealer.
7 *Sertorius, a Tragedy.*
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11 *Alexander the Great.*
12 *Mithridates King of Pontus.*
13 *Oedipus King of Thebes.*
14 *Cæsar Borgia.*
15 *Theodosius, or the Force of Love.*
16 Madam

- 16 Madam Fickle, or the Witty False One.
17 The Fond Husband, or the Plotting Sisters.
18 Esquire Old-Sap, or the Night-Adventures.
19 Fool turn'd Critick.
20 Virtuous Wife, or Good Luck at last.
21 The Fatal Wager.
22 Andromache.
23 Country Wit.
24 Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph.
25 Destruction of Jerusalem, in two Parts.
26 Ambitious Statesman, or the Loyal Favourite.
27 Misery of Civil War.
28 The Murder of the Duke of Gloucester.
29 Thyestes, a Tragedy.
30 Hamlet Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy.
31 The Orphan, or the Unhappy Marriage.
32 The Soldiers Fortune.
33 Tamerlain the Great.
34 Mr. Limberham, or the Kind Keeper.
35 Mistaken Husband.
36 Notes of Morocco, by the Wits.
37 Essex and Elizabeth, or the Unhappy Favourite.
38 Virtue Betray'd, or Anna Bullen.
39 King Leir.

40 Abdellazor,

- 40 *Abdellazor, or the Moor's Revenge.*
41 *Town-Fop, or Sir Tim. Tawdry.*
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43 *Moor of Venice,*
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45 *City Politicks.*
46 *Duke of Guise.*
47 *Rehearsal.*
48 *King and no King.*
49 *Philaster, or Love lies a Bleeding.*
50 *Maids Tragedy.*
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52 *Strange Discovery.*
53 *Atheist, or the Second Part of the
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57 *Constantine.*
58 *Valentinian.*
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60 *Dutch Lovers.*
61 *Woman Rules.*
62 *Reformation.*
63 *Hero and Leander.*
64 *Love-Tricks.*
65 *Julius Cæsar.*
66 *Fatal Jealousie.*
67 *Monsieur Ragou.*

F I N I S.

